

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 297 063

UD 026 293

TITLE New Voices: Immigrant Students in U.S. Public Schools.

INSTITUTION National Coalition of Advocates for Students, Boston, MA.

PUB DATE 88

NOTE 189p.; Some dark colored pages may not reproduce well.

AVAILABLE FROM National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 100 Boylston Street, Suite 737, Boston, MA 02116 (\$12.95 each for institutions, \$9.95 each for individuals, \$2.00 per copy for postage and handling).

PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; Acculturation; Adjustment (to Environment); Bilingual Education Programs; Compensatory Education; Cultural Differences; *Educational Improvement; Elementary Secondary Education; Emotional Problems; *Foreign Students; *Immigrants; Interpersonal Relationship; Laws; *Limited English Speaking; Minority Group Children; Parent Participation; Peer Influence; *Policy Formation; Program Development; Public Education; *Public Schools; Teacher Education

IDENTIFIERS Immigration and Naturalization Service

ABSTRACT

Immigrant children face serious problems in gaining access to a free public education. Many schools discourage immigrant children from enrolling; once inside the schoolhouse, these children continue to experience barriers to a comprehensive and effective education. Immigrant students lack the quality language assistance programs they need to develop effective skills in reading comprehension, writing, and speaking. Immigrant students are more likely to be retained in-grade and inappropriately placed in special education programs, and are at double risk for being placed in low academic tracks on the basis of language limitations or slow academic progress. The cumulative effects of these experiences, which cause great emotional stress, often cause them to leave school early; many immigrant students need specialized support services. Intergroup conflict is a serious problem in many schools. Schools are not doing enough to work with immigrant parents. Unless schools are restructured in fundamental ways, school success will elude large numbers of immigrant students. Policy recommendations are made. Quotations from students, teachers, parents, administrators, and professionals from national and community organizations illustrate the text; there are several pages of photographs. Appendices describe the methodology used in forming this report, list the contributors to the report, provide a questionnaire to help determine whether a child should be placed in a special education program, survey laws pertaining to the education of immigrant children, and list references. (BJV)

ED297063

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official
OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Joan First
National Coalition of
Advocates for Students
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

New Voices

Immigrant
Students in
U.S. Public
Schools

Partial support for the NCAS Immigrant Student Project was provided by:

The Ford Foundation

The Hazen Foundation

American Baptist Ministries, U.S.A.

Atlantic Richfield Foundation

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the Board of Directors of the National Coalition of Advocates for Students informed by the Project's National Advisory Panel. Opinions are not necessarily those of funding sources or individual National Advisory Panel members.

Copies of *New Voices* may be ordered from:

The National Coalition of Advocates for Students
100 Boylston Street
Suite 737
Boston, MA 02116

Single copy, prepaid price for schools, libraries, and other institutions: \$12.95

Single copy, prepaid price for individuals: \$9.95

Please add \$2.00 per copy for postage and handling.

All rights reserved.

Printed in U.S.A.

No part of this book may be used or reproduced for any purpose without written permission.

©Copyright 1988

Library of Congress Number 88-60962



New Voices

Immigrant
Students in
U.S. Public
Schools

Introductory Messages	vii
Foreword	xi
Summary	xiii

1. Forces of Change 1

Immigration to the United States	2
<i>The Great Migrations</i>	2
The Newest Immigrants	3
<i>Lands of Origin</i>	4
<i>Major Areas of Settlement</i>	5
<i>Age Distribution</i>	5
<i>Language</i>	6
<i>Levels of Education</i>	7
<i>The Wave Theory</i>	7
<i>Why They Come</i>	8
<i>Interdependency</i>	9
Our Nation's Changing Face	9
<i>The Nation's Public Schools</i>	10
<i>School-Aged Immigrants in the United States</i>	11
<i>Impact on Local Schools</i>	11
<i>The Economic Value of Education</i>	13
<i>Summary</i>	13

2. Coming to a New Land 15

Cross-Cultural Conflicts	16
<i>Language as a Barrier</i>	16
<i>English at Home</i>	17
The Move for "English Only"	18
<i>The Clash of Cultures</i>	19
<i>Children as Go-Betweens</i>	21
The Oppression of War, Race, and Class	22
<i>The Trauma of Violence</i>	22
<i>Family Separation</i>	24
<i>Ties to Home</i>	24
<i>Racial Tension</i>	25
<i>Economic Struggle</i>	26
<i>Employment</i>	27
<i>Housing</i>	28
<i>Health Care</i>	29
<i>Diminished Safety Net</i>	29
Legal Status	30
<i>The Plight of Undocumented Children</i>	31
<i>Fear of Deportation</i>	31
<i>IRCA</i>	32
<i>The INS</i>	33
<i>Children in Detention</i>	33
<i>An Abbreviated Childhood</i>	36
Testimony: I Am an Immigrant	37

3. The Challenge 39

Access to Schools	40
<i>Access to the Classroom</i>	42
<i>Access to a Comprehensible Education</i>	42
<i>Limited English Proficiency</i>	43
Assessment and Placement	44
<i>Standardized Testing</i>	44
<i>Inflexible Grade Placement</i>	46
<i>Holding Students Back</i>	47
<i>Tracking Practices</i>	48
Bilingual, Multicultural, and Special Education	49
<i>Bilingual Education</i>	49
<i>Multicultural Education</i>	51
<i>Special Education: In-School Deportation</i>	53
Staffing and Support Services	56
<i>The Need for Adequate Staff</i>	56
<i>Lack of Support Services</i>	57
School Climate	59
<i>A Need for Leadership</i>	59
<i>Harassment in School</i>	60
<i>School Discipline</i>	61
<i>Youth Gangs</i>	62
<i>INS in Public Schools</i>	63
<i>School Success—and Failure</i>	64
<i>High Incidence of Dropouts</i>	65
Testimony of Luis Reyes	67
Testimony of Evelyn Davila	68

Contents

4. Parents and Community 71

Immigrant Parents and the Schools 72

The Value of Parental Involvement 73 *Barriers Created by Schools* 74

The Effect of Cultural Expectations 76 *Education Level of Parents* 78

Constraints of Language and Time 78

The Role of the Community 79

Community Organizations and the Schools 80

5. Finding Solutions 83

Testimony of William Waxman 84

Testimony of Paul Cheng 88

An End to Silence 90 *The Need for Time* 92

Appropriate Placement Practices 93

BOX: Model Intake and Assessment Program 94

Sorting Practices 95 *Special Education: Time for Amnesty* 98

A Troubled System 98 *Positive School Climate* 99 *School Staffing* 100

Comprehensive Support Services 102 *Flexi-b Care* 104

After High School 105

BOX: Components of Quality Bilingual Education Programs 106

Empowering Students and Communities 106

Building Bridges of Language 108

BOX: Description of Language Assistance Programs 110

BOX: Federal Funding Sources for Programs Serving Immigrant Children 112

"English Plus": A Realistic and Achievable Goal 113

Capitalizing on Cultural Strengths 113 *A New America* 115

Recommendations 117

Goals 118

Recommended Action 119

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 119

U.S. Department of Education 119 *U.S. Department of Justice* 120

State Education Agencies 120 *Local Education Agencies* 122

Teacher Training Institutions 122 *All Communities* 122

A Special Message to Advocates 128

Appendices 131

A. Methodology 133

B. Project Participants 137

C. Does This Immigrant Student Really Belong in
Special Education? 151

D. Legal Survey 155

E. References and Additional Reading 169

Publication of this report marks an organizational milestone for the National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS). Almost a decade ago, NCAS became the only national coalition to work full time on issues affecting the most vulnerable students in schools. Our original goal was to create a strong voice to speak on behalf of Black and Hispanic children, the two major minority groups in U.S. schools.

NCAS planned and implemented an earlier national study which explored the status of at-risk, U.S.-born students in public schools. The process included arriving at consensus among our member organizations and a diverse board of inquiry. That effort was co-chaired by former U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II and Children's Defense Fund president, Marian Wright Edelman.

During NCAS' short life, this nation and its schools have been permanently altered by the arrival of large numbers of new immigrants. As advocates, we have both gained experience and broadened our vision. Some of us have been intensely involved in the process of advocating for the rights of these families, especially the children.

The experience of NCAS' member organizations in their own communities, and of the Coalition through the earlier Board of Inquiry Project and the current Immigrant Student Project, has forced us to conclude that public schools must be restructured if the educational needs of their extraordinarily diverse student populations are to be met.

The release of this report comes at a time when education advocates are feeling a good deal of ambivalence. On one hand, the words "at risk" are on the lips of everyone, and the very issues that some of the coalition's member groups have worked upon for the last quarter century now seem to be at the top of many agendas. Still we worry.

We worry about the need for renewed and increased minority leadership; we worry about who will be funded to implement the equity agendas that are now so popular. Many of those who are now forwarding school equity agendas have access to power and funds. We resonate to their words, still we wonder about the source and permanency of their commitment.

Many of the new organizations focusing on equity are not closely tied to minority communities. They are, however, careful to include minorities on advisory boards for their projects; and we spend valuable time and energy serving on those boards. Yet, we do not think that the results necessarily speak fully for us.

Organizations less deeply rooted in communities agree with us about the shape of the problem, its impact upon us, and sometimes on solutions as well. But they cannot address what we believe to be the most difficult tasks. Along with the tasks they consider important, we consider as crucial the development of leadership from within these groups and support for self-help activities that truly empower minority communities.

Our concern is for supporting the newly established self-help organizations in immigrant communities which represent newcomers from all corners of the globe. We worked with these groups to implement this project, and we respect them. It is clear that leadership development and resource generation will be critically important issues for them.

Introductory Messages

As advocates for equal opportunity for all students, we seek to join ranks with these newcomers as the struggle for civil and educational rights in the U.S. continues, using new strategies to preserve old values. We know that dangers of defeat multiply when communities are pitted against each other, and placed in competition for scarce resources. We seek to avoid those dangers. We are all allies in securing fundamental rights for all human beings.

Our goals and our actions are directed at building broadly-based constituencies capable of speaking powerfully on behalf of all vulnerable children in schools, and, in the process, to empower communities. By doing so, we can best remember the needs of all our children.

Aurelio Montemayor
Intercultural Development Research Association
San Antonio, TX

Chairperson,
National Coalition of Advocates for Students

April 1988

For Americans who want to see their country as it is rather than through rose tinted glasses, this report fills out a picture that has emerged over recent years from a number of other studies. It describes the struggle to succeed of children and youth in a new wave of immigrants to a society that has reduced its commitments to its least fortunate members. These immigrant children have envisioned the U.S.A. as a promised land of freedom and hope. They find it a country with a growing proportion of its children and youth in poverty, with our unfinished civil rights revolution casting a shadow of discrimination on the life chances of racial and cultural minorities, and with a growing gap between its haves and its have nots.

The full picture of America's neglect of its burgeoning child poverty is now available for all to see. Most of the studies that comprise this picture are associated with the school reform movement of the 1980s. These studies have not received the visibility achieved by the widely trumpeted report of 1983, *A Nation at Risk*. That document inadequately recognized the entrapment of poor children in schools that failed to serve them. Americans seeking a better understanding of how we fail our children and youth and what we might do about that failure will be helped by this publication and by those listed in Appendix E.

The sources of support for this report on immigrant children and for the studies listed in Appendix E combine with the agencies that carried them out in an instructive pattern. Not one of them was backed by government. All the funds came from private foundations and corporate gifts. The sponsoring agencies represent a broad social and economic spectrum. Two were done by task forces of business leaders concerned about our country's economic future and the labor force to make it competitive. Child advocacy groups initiated several of them. The College Board, a membership organization of schools and colleges, sponsored and paid for one, as did California Tomorrow, a new agency to help Californians plan for the social changes they confront.

A single message comes loud and clear from this cross section of American funding and initiative: *We know enough about the problems that limit the lives of our country's children to make over a period of time a substantial improvement in their prospects, but we are at a loss for the political will and the leadership to act on our knowledge.*

What is the reason for this unwillingness to face up to our long term self interest as well as to the current challenge of neglected children and youth? Each of us must answer this question. For me the answer lies in the combined excesses of individualism and greed that characterize American life in the last years of this century. Our capacity for choosing to help others, that fueled the civil rights movement, has been eroded by the primacy of self interest. We shall deserve the trouble we encounter in the years ahead for our failure to face up to our children's needs today.

But it would be a mistake to allow this somewhat pessimistic view to cloud the achievements of numerous small scale efforts that offer models to build upon. If these can become sufficiently visible, perhaps they can spread like wildfire and ignite new hope, even in today's vacuum of leadership. This new report on immigrant children and the others listed in Appendix E offer many sources of information.

Harold Howe II
Senior Lecturer
Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA

April 1988

New Voices is the first national report to document the encounter between the children of the great immigration wave of the 1970s-80s and U.S. public schools. It identifies a host of problems which these students and the schools create for each other, and offers recommendations for changes in school policy and practice which we believe will result in greater school success for young immigrants.

The Immigrant Student Project of the National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS) conducted research over a two-year period, holding public hearings in five gateway cities, interviewing immigrant parents and students across the country, reviewing relevant literature, and conferring with public school personnel and leaders of immigrant community organizations. Additionally, a 50-member Project National Advisory Panel of immigrant leaders, educators with first hand experience working with newly-arrived immigrant students, and advocates provided advice and helped to draft recommendations.

Many of the Project's findings will come as no surprise to immigrant parents and students. They may, however, be surprised to learn that the same problems which confront them on a daily basis are experienced by so many other parents and students in this country.

Schools do not change quickly or easily, as is well known by the many educators who join us in calling for change. In the meantime, theirs is the frustration of daily involvement in a public education system caught unprepared and unaware. Many educators and policymakers will find the Project's findings troubling. There is no choice but to face the new realities our research reveals.

Immigrant children bring a wealth of riches to our schools. They come with optimism, energy, and a variety of skills which will make a vital contribution to our nation's future. We will all benefit by the preservation of their strengths which are too often converted into vulnerabilities in the classrooms of our schools.

Today's immigrants usher in a new era in the continuing struggle of minorities in the United States for protection of their civil rights. Immigrant students share actively in that struggle, as they seek access to effective schooling as the first step in building bright futures in a new land.

Young newcomers are not a monolithic population. A Vietnamese child with a superior educational background may sit in a bilingual class next to another Vietnamese youngster who fled the countryside of his homeland, arriving alone and illiterate in the U.S. An Hispanic immigrant student may be a well-educated Salvadoran, or a child born in this country who has lived in Mexico, shuttling back and forth between two cultures, two languages, and two educational systems. A Haitian youngster with a superior educational background may sit next to another Haitian student who has had very little schooling.

Despite these great differences, nearly all immigrant students have shared some important experiences. They must learn a new language and adapt to a new culture. Many suffer psychological trauma resulting from having fled their homelands which are convulsed by war and poverty, often arriving after perilous journeys to a land where their troubles are almost sure to continue. And finally, they must do well in school to be able to lead successful and productive lives in this country.

Foreword

Foreword

We believe that all young newcomers, documented and undocumented, have important educational rights. These include:

- the right of access to U.S. public schools;
- the right to comprehensible schooling in the mainstream of U.S. public education;
- the right of respect for their home language and culture;
- the right to a supportive learning environment free from harassment;
- the right to instruction by properly trained adults who are committed to their school success.

We also believe that immigrant parents have the right to effectively participate in their child's education.

It is vital to all of us that these rights be protected—for fairness and justice, continued economic growth, and to ensure future social stability. The costs of failure will be large, for these young people and for our society.

Those who set policy and those who daily work with immigrant children and their parents will profit by this report. To the extent that there are affirmative responses, all children will benefit.

I was raised by immigrant parents and attended public schools populated by immigrant children and children of immigrants. Had we enjoyed respect for our culture and encouragement, more of us would have done well in school.

Hundreds of thousands of children will become documented immigrants pursuant to our immigration statutes, while large numbers of children will continue to live among us without documents. They all form a part of the American tapestry. The task at hand is to do better for all our children. We seek to restructure public schools to make them more responsive to the needs of immigrant students, U.S.-born minorities, and all other students as well.

As you read this report, I hope that you will agree with us.

Justice Cruz Reynoso (Ret.)
Chairperson
National Advisory Panel
Immigrant Student Project
National Coalition of Advocates for Students

April 1988

The great immigration wave of the 1970s and 1980s has dramatically changed U.S. public schools. At the same time, the United States is increasingly becoming a multicultural and multilingual nation, transformed by its changing demographics, and in turn transforming those who come here.

As the nation has learned from previous periods of great migration, young immigrants contribute great energy, cultural richness, strength, and maturity to the schools. They also bring new challenges which U.S. schools, for the most part, are not meeting well; rather, the U.S. public education system appears unprepared and overwhelmed.

Despite the fact that every immigrant child has the legal right of access to a free public education, serious problems with access exist. Many schools discourage immigrant children from enrolling. Once inside the schoolhouse, these children continue to experience barriers to a comprehensible and effective education.

Children of undocumented immigrants face especially acute problems, including fear of discovery and deportation by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, and inappropriate detention and treatment in federally operated detention centers.

Immigrant students need years to learn a new language and make difficult adjustments; but most U.S. schools are not structured to provide this time. Immigrant students are more likely to be retained in-grade, inappropriately placed in special education, and are at a double risk for being placed in low academic tracks on the basis of language limitations or slow academic progress. The cumulative effects of these experiences often cause immigrant students to leave school early, and create great emotional stress.

Immigrant students lack the quality language assistance programs they need to develop effective skills in reading comprehension, writing, and speaking to ensure their school success and provide access to the full curriculum while they are learning English. Large numbers of limited English proficient students do not have access to language assistance services at all, and additional large numbers are in poorly implemented and underfunded programs.

Recent school reforms have produced schools that are meritocratic, less flexible, and less able to respond to the needs of highly diverse student populations. Unless schools are restructured in fundamental ways, school success will elude large numbers of immigrant students.

Teacher-training institutions seem unaware of these new realities. Even if widespread training efforts intended to solve these problems began today, the nation is still a decade behind in producing teachers with the necessary skills and sensitivities to teach these new students successfully.

Intergroup conflict is a serious problem in many schools. Immigrant children are victimized, and sometimes victimize each other. Schools must take a strong stand and act to stop this behavior.

Summary

Summary

Schools are hard-pressed to meet immigrant students' needs for specialized support services. Many of these children bring to the schools serious physical and mental health problems. Among the latter are grief, depression, loneliness, despair, and alienation. Because entire families have shared the same traumas of war, violence, severe poverty, perilous journeys, and difficult adjustments in this country, whole families may present the same symptoms. Schools and community agencies must work together to help heal these wounds.

While the majority of immigrant parents greatly value schooling, many do not know how to cross the wide chasms of language, culture, and class difference which separate them from the schools. Schools are not doing enough to reach out to parents in comprehensible, culturally sensitive ways, or to work with existing grassroots immigrant self-help organizations, many of which demonstrated their interest in school issues by actively assisting with the implementation of this Project.

In view of these findings, we seek:

- an end to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service policies which use schools and school personnel to identify children and families for deportation or detention.
- greater awareness by school personnel that all immigrant children have a right to a free public education in the United States.
- schools which empower immigrant students and allow their voices to be heard, and do not sort young newcomers into programs which prepare them for different futures than U.S.-born students.
- quality bilingual education programs for all children who need them, setting a minimum standard of "English-Plus", with the "Plus" dependent upon circumstances determined by student needs and available resources. Programs can range from respectful support of the child's first language and culture to developmental bilingual education for as long as is necessary to prepare the student for success in the monolingual English classroom.
- a teaching force which is sensitized to cultural differences, provides role models for immigrant children, and is equipped with the commitment, skill, and knowledge to support the school success of immigrant students.
- schools which do not tolerate harassment and victimization of immigrant students, nor permit other intergroup conflicts to go unchecked.
- empowerment of immigrant communities through full participation in the education of their children.

The Immigrant Student Project's examination of the nation's public schools occurs at a time when inexorable forces are changing the ethnic and cultural shape of the United States. Even in the absence of external influence, the demographics of this country are shifting in important ways. When added to the significant influx of immigrants during the last fifteen years, cumulative forces promise profound and interesting changes.

This chapter offers statistical and demographic information on recent immigration and related factors to serve as background for presentation of the Project's findings and recommendations in subsequent chapters.

Immigration to the United States

Immigration to the United States can, of course, be traced to the arrival of the first Europeans who settled along the east and west coasts during the 17th century. As noted with some irony by Bouvier and Agresta (1987), "the region shifted from being overwhelmingly Native American to being white Anglo-Saxon Protestant largely because of the high mortality of the former group and the high immigration and fertility of the latter."

In the east, an estimated 500,000 of a population of 10 million native-born Indians — descendants themselves of "pioneers who had crossed the land bridge from Siberia as early as 30,000 years before Christ" — were displaced by European settlers (Archdeacon, 1983). Spanish settlers, who had conquered and subjugated native-born Indians in the west and south, were subsequently displaced by fellow Europeans in many locations, as well.

The U.S. institution of legalized slavery, which began in 1619 when a Dutch ship transported black Africans to Virginia for sale (Archdeacon, 1983), created a period of involuntary migration resulting in a substantial Black immigrant population in the United States. By 1790, this forced migration left many southern, agricultural states with populations that included large percentages of Blacks: 44% in South Carolina; 41% in Virginia; 36% in Georgia; 35% in Maryland; 27% in North Carolina; and 22% in Delaware (Archdeacon, 1983).

The Great Migrations

Soon after the U.S. Government began to keep records of immigration in 1820, a steady stream of tens of thousands of new Americans each year increased to become the first great migration of immigrants in the mid-19th century, reaching its highest point in the early 1880s when 800,000 Europeans arrived in a single year. With the greatest numbers coming from Germany, Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia, these early immigrants were ethnically similar to those already in residence, predominantly English-speaking, and possessing common cultural and social values (Muller and Espenshade, 1985; Degler, *et al.*, 1973).

This period also witnessed the arrival of great numbers of immigrants from China, many as contract laborers brought into California to build the railroads. Almost 200,000 Chinese had arrived by 1880. Adverse public reaction to this influx led to the passage of laws restricting Chinese and Japanese immigration, inaugurating an era of governmental regulation. In 1891, the U.S. Congress created a superintendent of immigration within the Treasury Department — a small administrative apparatus later to grow into the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Bernard, 1982).

The second great immigrant migration from 1900 to 1920 was dominated by people from central and southern Europe, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia who spoke no English, came from rural areas, and were mostly Catholic (Muller and Espenshade, 1985). As people continued to arrive from Britain, Germany, Ireland, France, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, the second great migration set new immigration records (Degler, *et al.*, 1973). In the single year of 1907, more than 1.3 million immigrants entered the United States. It was the peak year in a peak decade, with more than 8 million new entrants between 1900 and 1910 representing more than 40 nations.

Although immigration continued until the Great Depression in the 1930s, the collapsed economy combined with federal legislation establishing restrictive quotas to greatly reduce immigration, ending the second great migration in the mid-1920s (McCoy, 1985).

During the early to mid-1900s, an internal geographic shift in the nation's Black population is considered by many to constitute an important migration, as noted by Muller and Espenshade (1985):

“Although, strictly speaking, only migrants crossing national borders are labeled immigrants...the movement of southern, rural Black Americans to northern cities was analogous to the immigrant waves. The characteristics of these migrants, their origin, and their role in the northern labor force were, in many ways, similar to those of the new European wave of immigrants.”

During World War II, new entrants fell to the lowest point since the early 1800s. By 1948, immigration levels began slowly to rise once again with the admission of war refugees, and refugees of the Korean conflict and the Hungarian revolution. During the 1950s, newcomers continued to arrive from Germany, Britain, and Italy, but more than one-third were coming from Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies (McCoy, 1985).

The third great migration began in the late 1960s and is still going on today. Shaped by the Immigration & Naturalization Act of 1965, by a series of refugee acts passed between 1961 and 1980, and by foreign and domestic economic and political forces, this latest migration is different in important ways from the two which preceded it.

The Newest Immigrants

Comprised from three distinct groups — legal immigrants, refugees, and undocumented immigrants — in absolute numbers, this migration is among the largest in our nation's history.¹

During the 1970s, more than 4.3 million immigrants were admitted legally to the United States. The 1980 Census adds its count of illegal immigrants and offers a total of 5.6 million foreign-born people as entrants during that period. Adding a conservative estimate of 1 million illegal immigrants not counted by the 1980 Census, net immigration for the 1970s totals 6.6 million (Bouvier and Agresta, 1987).

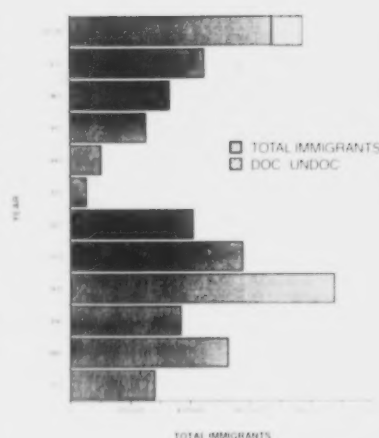


Fig. 1: Levels and Rates of U.S. Immigration, 1870-1985

Forces of Change

Because accurate counts for undocumented immigrants entering the United States illegally are not available, estimates must suffice. Dr. Jeffrey Passel of the U.S. Census Bureau sets the annual flow of undocumented immigrants into this country at 100,000 to 300,000, as does Haney (1987). Others feel the annual count is closer to half a million (Reubens, in Passel, 1985). When either figure is added to the more than half a million legal immigrants arriving each year, it is clear the United States has recently experienced historic levels of immigration, resulting in a foreign-born population which may exceed 15 million (Haney, 1987).

It is important to note that while the absolute numbers of recent immigrants places this latest migration among the largest in our nation's history, it should be viewed in the context of the country's overall population. Looking at two sample decades, the estimated 8 million immigrants who arrived between 1900 and 1910 came to a country with 84 million inhabitants, and represented a 10% increase in the population; the arrival of an estimated 6.6 million immigrants between 1970 and 1979 represented a 5% increase in the 215 million population of that time.

Lands of Origin

Even more striking than the scale of the newest migration is its makeup — millions of newcomers from Mexico, Asia, Central and South America, and the Caribbean.

Muller and Espenshade (1985) calculate the migration since 1960 to be: 34% from Asia; 34% from Latin America; 16% from Europe; and 16% from other continents, Canada, or unspecified nations.

In the single year of 1979, 42% of immigrants came from Latin America, 41% from Asia, and 14% came from Europe (Wacher, 1983). In 1985, 80% of total immigration was evenly split between Mexico and Asia (Hodgkinson, 1986).

Latin American newcomers have arrived chiefly from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras. Asian immigrants include Vietnamese, Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, Indians, Laotians, Cambodians, Hmong, and Japanese. Caribbeans, arriving in smaller numbers, come mostly from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Cuba.

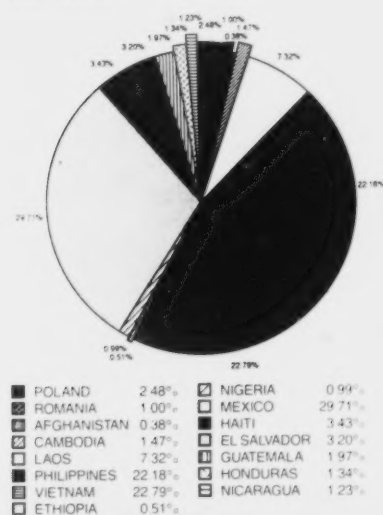


Fig. 2: Immigrants Admitted by Country or Region of Birth, FY 1980

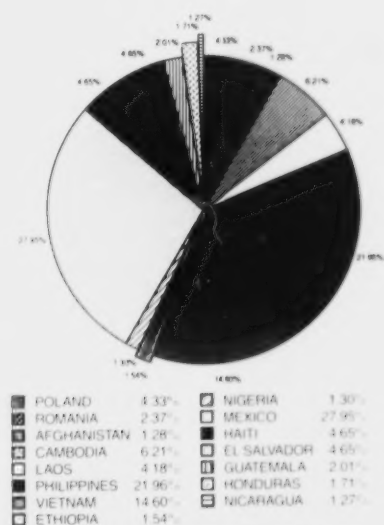


Fig. 3: Immigrants Admitted by Country or Region of Birth, FY 1985

Major Areas of Settlement

The 1980 U.S. Census shows the geographic distribution of documented immigrants to be highly concentrated: 28% in California; 16% in New York; 9% in Texas; 8% in Florida; 6% in Illinois; 4% in New Jersey; 3% in Massachusetts; 2% in Pennsylvania; 2% in Michigan; 1% in Ohio; and 21% in the remaining 40 states. The distribution of undocumented immigrants is even more concentrated: 50% in California; 11% in New York; 9% in Texas; 7% in Illinois; 4% in Florida; and 19% in the remaining 45 states.

While earlier immigrants tended to settle first in Northern manufacturing centers — New York, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh — three out of five new arrivals live in southern and western states. Almost 40% of immigrants counted in the 1980 Census live in just two metropolitan areas — Los Angeles (CA) and New York (NY). Another 20% live in San Francisco (CA), Chicago (IL), Miami (FL), Houston (TX), and Washington (DC) (Muller and Espenshade, 1985).

The top ten metropolitan areas for settlement of undocumented immigrants are: Los Angeles (CA); New York (NY); Chicago (IL); Anaheim (CA); Washington (DC); San Francisco (CA); Houston (TX); San Diego (CA); Miami (FL); Dallas-Ft. Worth (TX) (U.S. Census, 1980).

These settlement patterns help explain why fully half the population growth in the nation since the 1980 Census has occurred in just three states — California, Texas, and Florida — each a magnet for new immigrants (U.S. Census, 1985).

A look at five cities which received the largest number of immigrants during the 1970s shows that each has become home for a share of arriving Asians, Latin Americans, Caribbeans, and others, although to differing degrees.

Of these cities, Los Angeles received by far the greatest share of Mexicans, while Mexicans accounted for the smallest share of immigrants in New York and Miami. Asian immigrants settled most often in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York, but accounted for a small portion of immigration to Miami and Houston. New York received by far the greatest share of Caribbeans, as well as immigrants falling into the "other" category, making it the most diverse of American cities (U.S. Census, 1980).

Age Distribution

One important characteristic of the newest migration of immigrants is its youth. As noted, the mean age in the United States is about 30, and rising. This contrasts sharply with the average ages of some recent immigrant populations (Rumbaut, *et al.*, 1983, 1984):

Hmong	13 years
Cambodian	18 years
Laotian	19 years
Vietnamese	21 years
Mexican	23 years

Other groups are closer to the national mean:

Dominican	26 years
Central American	27 years
Jamaican	27 years
Haitian	29 years
Cuban	39 years

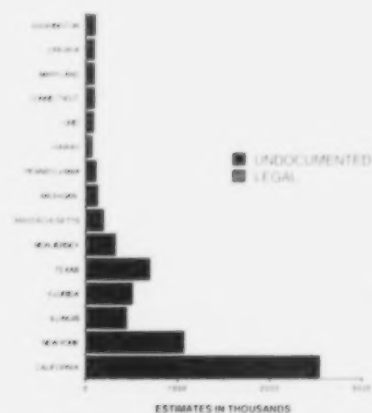


Fig. 4: Geographic Distribution by State, 1980 Census

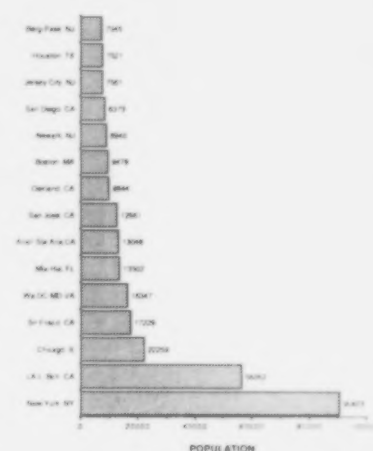


Fig. 5: Most Impacted Cities, FY 1985

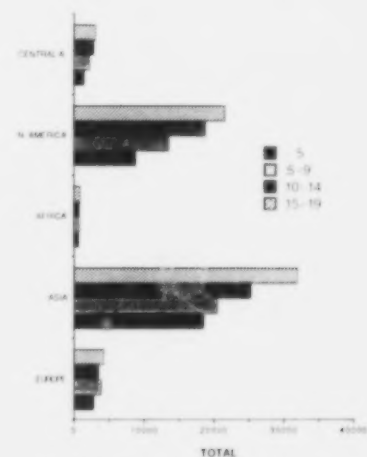


Fig. 6: School-Aged Immigrants, Age Distribution, FY 1986

According to Muller and Espenshade (1985), 60% of recent immigrants are between 16 and 44 years of age. Undocumented immigrants are even younger.

Haney (1987) found that one-third of Mexicans who arrived since 1980 are under 20 years old. The 1980 U.S. Census of California showed a third of Mexicans to be under age 15, and 57% under age 25. Forty-six percent of Nicaraguans and Salvadorans in the 1980 Census were under 25 years of age (Walker, 1987; U.S. Census, 1980).

According to the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement's estimate of recent arrivals: 4% are under five years of age; 32% are less than 18; and 55% are aged 19 to 44. More than 40% of the Southeast Asians who have arrived since 1980 are less than 20 years old; that percentage climbs to over 50% for Laotians during the same period (Haney, 1987).

Recent immigrants have come to the U.S. during their prime working and child-bearing years. A display of fertility rates for some immigrant populations presents an interesting picture for U.S. public schools (Walker, 1987):

Hmong	11.9
Cambodian	7.4
Laotian	4.6
Vietnamese	3.4
Mexican American	2.9

Language

Many immigrants of previous decades brought new languages with them, but often shared a common heritage with Latin roots and a Roman alphabet. Spanish — a major language of the new migration — is familiar on that basis to many Americans.

The Cambodian, Laotian, and Thai languages have little relation to the English sentence structure, and their system of writing doesn't use the Roman alphabet. Creole-speaking Haitians first began to put their language into written form only 50 years ago. Hmong arriving from the hills of Laos have survived for centuries with no written language until the last 30 years.

People from the Caribbean are also linguistically diverse, with Cubans and Dominicans speaking Spanish, Jamaicans speaking English, and Haitians speaking both French and Creole.

Many recent Asian immigrants are literate in English: 69% of Vietnamese; 44% of Lao; and 38% of Cambodians (Moffat and Walker, 1987). A study of employed Latin American immigrants who arrived between 1975 and 1980 showed that 60% of Mexicans and 75% of Central Americans have some use of English (Wallace, 1986).

Some newcomers have yet to be literate in any language. Limited or disrupted schooling in their native land, a language only recently evolving into written form, or a purely oral tradition are among the factors involved.

Levels of Education

The education level of many new immigrants, except for Mexicans, is superior to that of previous migrations, with a higher proportion of college degrees (Muller and Espenshade, 1985). Comparing some immigrant groups in the 25 to 54 year old age range, average high school graduation rates vary widely (Walker, 1987):

Filipino	81%
Haitian	64%
Vietnamese	61%
Jamaican	58%
Central American	24%
Dominican	24%
Mexican	15%

The 1980 Census found median years of education for Vietnamese immigrants to be 12.4, with 13 years for Koreans, and 14.1 years for Filipinos, exceeding the average of 12.4 years for White Americans (Walker, 1987). But, as discussed below, education levels do not remain constant over time, even within ethnic groups.

The Wave Theory

A developing theory, first applied by Stein (1981) to refugees, suggests that people leaving their native country at different points in time have distinct characteristics.

The wave theory posits that high-level officials in government and the military, the educated, and the urban elite are motivated to migrate first. The second wave includes lower-level officials from government and the military, less-educated merchants, and others leaving to be reunited with first wave family members. The third wave brings the rural poor, farmers, and the least-educated immigrants with the lowest levels of literacy in their own language, or in English. Some have had no exposure at all to written materials in any language, and are least equipped for formal schooling in an urban environment (Walker, 1987).

The wave theory is of interest to this study because one of the most distinct variables distinguishing waves is years of education. A study of parents of Indochinese immigrant students conducted by Rumbaut, Ruben and Weeks in San Diego (1983) shows a median level of education at 9.5 years for first wave immigrants arriving before 1978, with only 14% speaking no English. Those arriving in the second wave between 1978 and 1983 had an average 6.3 years of education, with 43% unable to speak any English.

These differences are also reflected in income levels, with 34% of first wave immigrants living below the poverty level, as compared to 80% of second wave immigrants. While immigrants' incomes increase as a function of how long they have lived in the United States, years of education are a clear determinant of economic success.¹

Studies of Indochinese (Moffat and Walker, 1987; Vangyi, 1980), Central Americans (Wallace, 1986), Filipinos (DeJong *et al.*, 1986), and Haitians (Stepick and Portes, 1986) all support the emerging wave theory, which predicts first and second wave immigrant children as best prepared to face the western, English-language public schools they have entered, while more recently arrived immigrant children will be more at risk in school.

While immigration patterns from Mexico support the wave theory (Wallace, 1986), it is less effective as a predictor of socio-economic characteristics because Mexican immigration is motivated almost exclusively by economic factors, drawing new arrivals largely from economically disadvantaged portions of the population (Olsen, 1988).

Why They Come

Traditional theories present migration as a response to forces such as overpopulation, famine, war, economic hardship, or religious persecution within sending countries, called "push" factors because they compel people to leave their homes. Opposite forces in receiving countries such as an expanding economy, high demand for labor, or availability of social opportunities, attract immigrants and are called "pull" factors.

It is certainly possible to identify "push" factors in each of the lands of origin of this newest migration: decades of war and oppression in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; the worst poverty in the western hemisphere along with brutal political repression in Haiti; severe unemployment and economic struggle in Mexico; political instability, civil war, and political oppression in Central and South America. Excerpts from interviews conducted by the Project with recently arrived immigrants illustrate these factors:

*Vietnamese Mother
Amherst, MA*

"I left Vietnam around June of 1984...because of the political situation in our native land. We had to pick up everything in order to find freedom...the United States was the first choice...[but] we were so afraid of the Communist government...it did not matter what country... just as long as we [could] leave Vietnam in one piece."

*Laotian Parent
Houston, TX*

"We didn't like Communists. We wanted our children to have a better future...we started our new life in the camps, then we waited and waited until we knew the good news."

*Cambodian Mother
Houston, TX*

"We only wanted to survive."

*Mexican Mother
Chicago, IL*

"We left our country when we were just married. We wanted to better our lives, and we came to the USA to work...also...my children, they would have the opportunity to have the education me and my husband were unable to get."

*Salvadoran Mother
San Francisco, CA*

"...[We came] first to survive, to save ourselves. Second to try to find a new life, and a better future."

*Salvadoran Mother
San Francisco, CA*

"...[I left] because of the political situation...[my] husband was badly beaten and tortured."

Interdependency

Examination of modern forces behind immigration suggests the traditional analysis, premised on the notion that the potential immigrant freely chooses when and where to go, does not fully explain the latest migration.

The clearest difference between this migration and those which have preceded it is the shift to Third World nations as sending countries. Some analysts feel this demands a different explanation, as expressed by Professor Miren Uriarte of the University of Massachusetts, at the Project's Boston hearing:

"...newer thinking about the causes of migration has begun to focus on the social, political, and economic forces that tie sending and receiving regions, and that underlie the flow of populations from one region to the other...when the ties that bind one region to another are of social, political, and economic dependence, the flow of migration takes place from the dependent region, such as Central America, toward the source of the dependency, such as the United States...the ties of dependency, and the consequences of those ties to the country that migrants are leaving from, determines in great measure the direction of the flow, as well as the specific sector of the population which would migrate.

"...[in] the case of Central American immigration to the U.S...for example...more traditional theories would focus on economic conditions and political unrest in Latin America and compare them with a more stable economy and more peaceful environment in the U.S...migratory flows would be seen as the collection of individuals making that logical decision...new thinking about the causes of migration would focus on the historical, economic, and political dependence of Central American nations on the U.S...the flow of immigrants from these countries would necessarily be toward the U.S. and would be a natural cost of U.S. policy which is sustained in those nations.

"The children...come from such diverse places as Haiti, Vietnam, El Salvador, Cambodia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Laos. All are Third World nations...which have been the site of some of the most bitter international struggles of modern times. All are nations over which the U.S. has had considerable economic and political influence, and in which U.S. policy has had a lot to say about the course of history...[this] analysis would also help us understand that we have a responsibility for their being here in the first place, and therefore a responsibility for their survival and welfare."

*Professor Miren Uriarte
University of Massachusetts,
Boston, MA*

Our Nation's Changing Face

The population of the United States now stands at about 245 million. In 1982, just under 12% were Black, 6.4% were Hispanic, and 1.6% were Asian, setting the White population at about 80% (U.S. Census, 1988, 1982).

During the height of the "baby boom" in the mid-1950s, White American women were having an average of 3.7 children, well above the 2.1 stable replacement rate. When their fertility rate peaked at 120 babies for every 1000 women, 85% of all new babies were White (Hodgkinson, 1986).

That rate declined to 3.65 by 1960, and to 2.48 by 1970. The current fertility rate for White women is now 1.7 children per lifetime, behind 2.4 for Black women and 2.9 for Mexican-American women (Hodgkinson, 1986).

One of every ten new babies in the United States in 1986 was born to a mother who came here from another country, up from 7.5% in 1963. Native-born women averaged 67.5 births per 1000, while foreign-born women averaged 98.9 births per 1000 (U.S. Census, 1986).

Age distribution has also changed. As the demographic bulge created by the "baby boom" ages, the number of Americans over 65 has surpassed the number of Americans in their teens, fixing the mean age in the United States at just over 30. The median age will continue to increase until it reaches 42 in 100 years (Hodgkinson, 1986).

White Americans are aging most rapidly, with a mean age in 1980 of 31.3 for women and 28.8 for men. When compared to an average age of 25 for Blacks, 23 for Hispanics, and still younger for many recent immigrants, it becomes clear that Whites are moving out of their child-bearing years just as other sectors of the population are moving into them (U.S. Census, 1980).

The forces now in place are shaping a future perhaps not fully anticipated by most people in the United States, and certainly not often reflected in current national policies. By the year 2050, our nation's population will reach 300 million, and it will look as it never has before.

By the year 2020, Whites in America will account for 70% of the total population. Thirty years later, the percentage of Whites will dip to 60%, totaling 162 million as compared to 198 million in 1980. More than one in three Americans will be non-White.

The Black population will expand slightly by 2050, to about 16% of the total. The most rapid growth will take place within Hispanic and Asian populations, with Hispanics more than doubling their share from 6.4% to 15%, and Asians jumping from 1.6% to as much as 10% (Bouvier and Agresta, 1987).

The Nation's Public Schools

There are now more than 41 million students in the nation's public schools. In 1988, over 5.5 million children will join them. The Class of 2001 presents unique challenges with its high proportion of students "at-risk" for school failure:

- minority enrollment levels range from 70% to 96% in the nation's 15 largest school systems;
- one of four children live below the poverty level as childhood poverty has reached its highest point in over 20 years;
- 15% are physically or mentally handicapped;
- 14% are children of teenage mothers;
- 14% are children of unmarried parents;
- 10% have poorly educated, sometimes illiterate, parents;
- between one-quarter and one-third have no one at home after school;
- 40% will live in broken homes by the time they are 18 years old; and
- 25% or more will not finish school (Hodgkinson, 1986).

School-Aged Immigrants in the United States

As immigrant populations expand in major urban areas around the country, public school systems are experiencing growing numbers of immigrant students, particularly in California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Mexico, and Pennsylvania (Hane, 1987).

For this study, Walter Hane, of Boston College, has made the first estimate of the number of school-aged immigrants (5 to 18 years old) now in the United States. Combining data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service with other assumptions, he calculates that the total ranges from 2.1 to 2.7 million.

One variable which makes greater precision difficult is the size of undocumented populations, which Hane has set at a conservative level of 100,000 to 300,000 arrivals a year. Because other estimates of undocumented entries are as high as half a million new arrivals a year, the number of school-aged immigrants could be higher than Hane's estimate. For details of his methodology, see Appendix A.

Impact On Local Schools

Documented and undocumented immigrant children represent about 6% of pre-collegiate students. While not an unmanageable number as a total, geographic concentration has greatly increased the impact of recently arriving immigrants on some schools. Testimony at public hearings sponsored by the Immigrant Student Project illustrates the severity of the impact:

"More than a third of San Francisco Unified School District's student population's primary language is other than English...the immigrant students coming to the district represent 20 or more different language groups. Roughly one-third of [the district's] population of 65,000 has immigrated here within the last five years, the two largest groups being Asian and Hispanic...the school district's ethnic distribution has changed dramatically over the past twenty years...the Spanish-surname population has increased from 11.5% to 18.3%...the White population has decreased from 45.3% to 15.6%...the Black population has decreased from 25.6% to 20.6%...the Chinese population has increased from 13.3% to 25.5%...[and the Filipino population from 2.5% to 8.9%]."

"Last year the [school district's] intake center processed over 6,000 new students, 31% of them being Chinese and 35% of them being Hispanic. Filipinos made the third largest group at 12.4%."

"...our record shows that within the past ten years we have grown from 7,000 newcomer students who are immigrants to 20,000 students this year, all of whom are limited English or non-English speaking youngsters..."

"Union City is a bedroom community located in South Alameda County [CA], and has recently changed from a predominantly White community to a multi-racial population...the changing demographics of Union City are starkly evident in the student population in local schools. At Logan High School, the only high school in the district...23% are Hispanic, 12% are Black, 12.4% are Asian, 16.4% are Filipino, 15% are Pacific Islanders. And within the middle and elementary schools, minorities constitute, on the average, 62% of the student population...a shift the local schools have yet to deal with."



■ TOTAL IMMIGRANTS
□ TOTAL STUDENTS

Fig. 7: Immigrant and Student Population, FY 1986

Ramon Cortines
Superintendent, San Francisco Unified
School District, CA

Ligaya Arendida
Coordinator ESL/Bilingual Programs,
San Francisco Unified School
District, CA

Maria Borje
Filipino Immigrant Services,
Fremont, CA

Charles Glenn
Massachusetts State Department
of Education

Oscar Chacon
National Co-Coordinator, Comité
El Salvador, Cambridge, MA,
National Advisory Panel

Prem Suksaat
Bilingual School Psychologist,
Lowell School System, MA

Reine Levy
Intergroup Relations Specialist,
Dade County Public Schools, FL

Sara Hudelston
University of Miami Law Center, FL

Elizabeth Bogen
Director, New York City Office of
Immigrant Affairs, NY

Loyda Alfalla
Superintendent, District 6, New York, NY

Norman Gold
California Department of Education, CA

"Last year we had 65,000 students in public schools in the Commonwealth whose first language was not English. That's nearly 8% of the public school enrollment in the state — not much, of course, compared with Texas or California, but still a significant number."

"At present, I would say that there are at least ... 700,000 to 800,000 Central Americans in the United States... there is an estimate of 20,000 Salvadorans in the Boston (MA) area..."

"... in the Lowell [MA] public schools... right now, there are about 2,000 Southeast Asian students... in 1980, there were 98 Southeast Asian students... 98 compared to 2,000... a big influx..."

"At this point in Dade County [FL], we have approximately 8,000 Haitian kids... schools where the Haitian kids are the majority are Morningside, Edison Senior, Edison Middle, Horace Mann, Middle River... I would say that most of the schools around Little Haiti are a majority of Haitians right now... more than 70% Haitian, and in certain cases up to 90%."

"Rough estimates that we have state that the Haitian population of Florida is 90,000 to 100,000, maybe more... the center of concentration is south Florida, Dade County, Broward County, Palm Beach County. We have been told that more than 60,000 Haitians are here in Miami... Antoine Levy, with whom we have worked... estimated to us that there were between 25,000 and 30,000 school-aged Haitians in the state."

"In 1980, there were almost 2.8 million households total in New York City, of which 781,000 or 28% were headed by an immigrant... when we look at the schools themselves, we find that a little more than a quarter of the city's public school children — 27.2% — came from households that were headed by an immigrant... in addition to the 273,000 children of immigrant families in the public schools, the schools are also educating 174,000 children whose parents were born in Puerto Rico, bringing to a total of nearly 450,000 the number of children whose parents' native language and culture was not English... that was, in 1980, almost half the schools' total enrollment."

"The pupil population attending District 6 schools is composed predominantly of minority students, Hispanic students. Currently, over 80% of our registered pupils are of Hispanic origin... 8000 pupils have been assessed as being limited English proficiency students... our schools demonstrate an over-utilization rate of approximately 120%."

"... in 1970, the school population was 73% White and 27% minority... [by] the year 2000, we will have a school population which is mainly made up of Black, Hispanic, Asian, Filipino, Pacific Island students, with a minority being Anglo... now of course, among those minority students are substantial numbers of limited English proficiency students, specifically immigrant students... something like 70,000 to 80,000 students entering kindergarten every year... are limited English proficient... Los Angeles in 1980 had 100,000 LEP students — last year it was 200,000. In the Bay Area here, Santa Clara County had 14,000 [in 1980], and now almost 26,000. San Francisco... had 10,000 in 1980 [and that] almost doubled to 20,000 this last year. And so on."

The Economic Value of Education

Hopes for a better life for their children rank high among the factors motivating immigrants, with most identifying a good education as the key. Dr. Edward Taylor, a labor economist with the Urban Institute in Washington, DC, has studied the effect of schooling on the earning power of immigrants:

"...schooling has a big positive effect on immigrant earnings at all levels of experience in the United States...[and] can be instrumental in closing the earnings gap between immigrant and native workers.

Edward Taylor
Urban Institute, Washington, DC

"For example, [in a California study] after ten years in the United States, the otherwise average immigrant with only six years of schooling earns an estimated \$6,800...this income goes from \$6,800 to \$8,400 if the same immigrant has a high school education, and to \$9,600 if he has a four year college education...it is doubtful that an average immigrant with only six or no years of schooling will ever earn as much as an average U.S.-born worker."

Although enhanced earning power is only one result of education, it is an important one for anyone trying to survive in the United States.

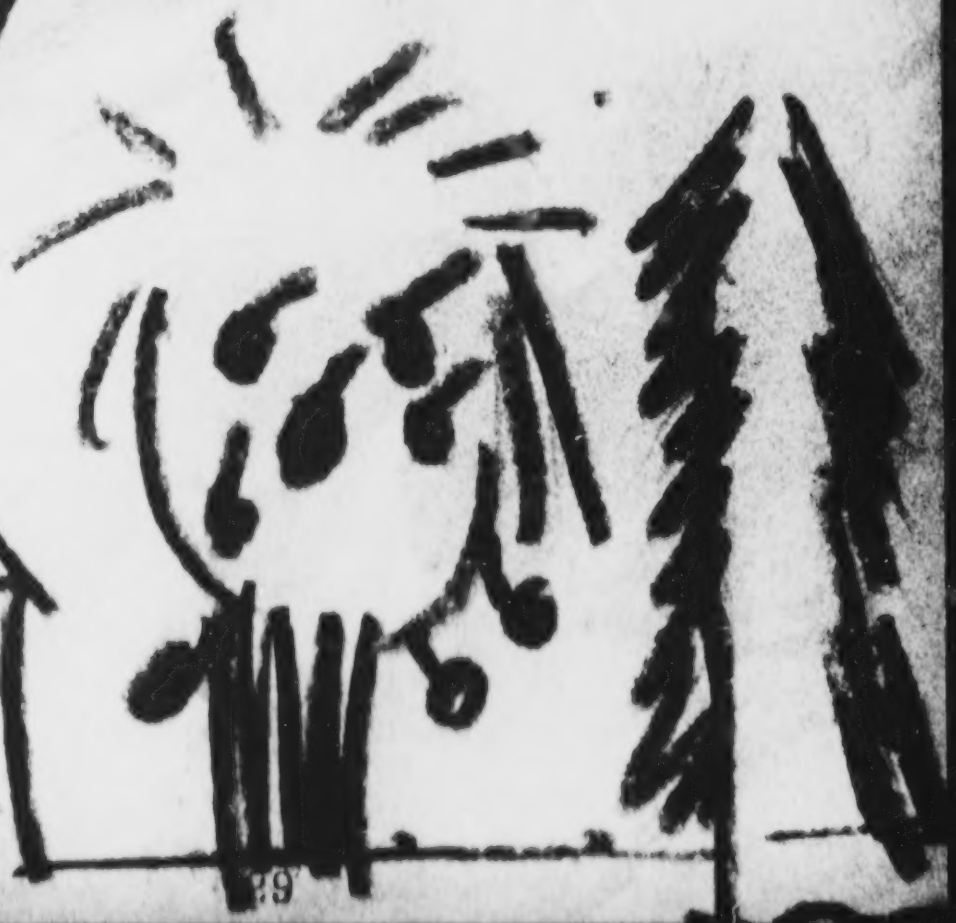
One study of the economic effects of immigration suggests that immigrants stimulate total employment by providing a pool of low-wage labor which supports industrial and manufacturing growth, may lower consumer prices for labor-intensive goods and services, and make tax contributions which exceed the cost of many of the services they use (McCarthy, Valdez, 1986).

Summary

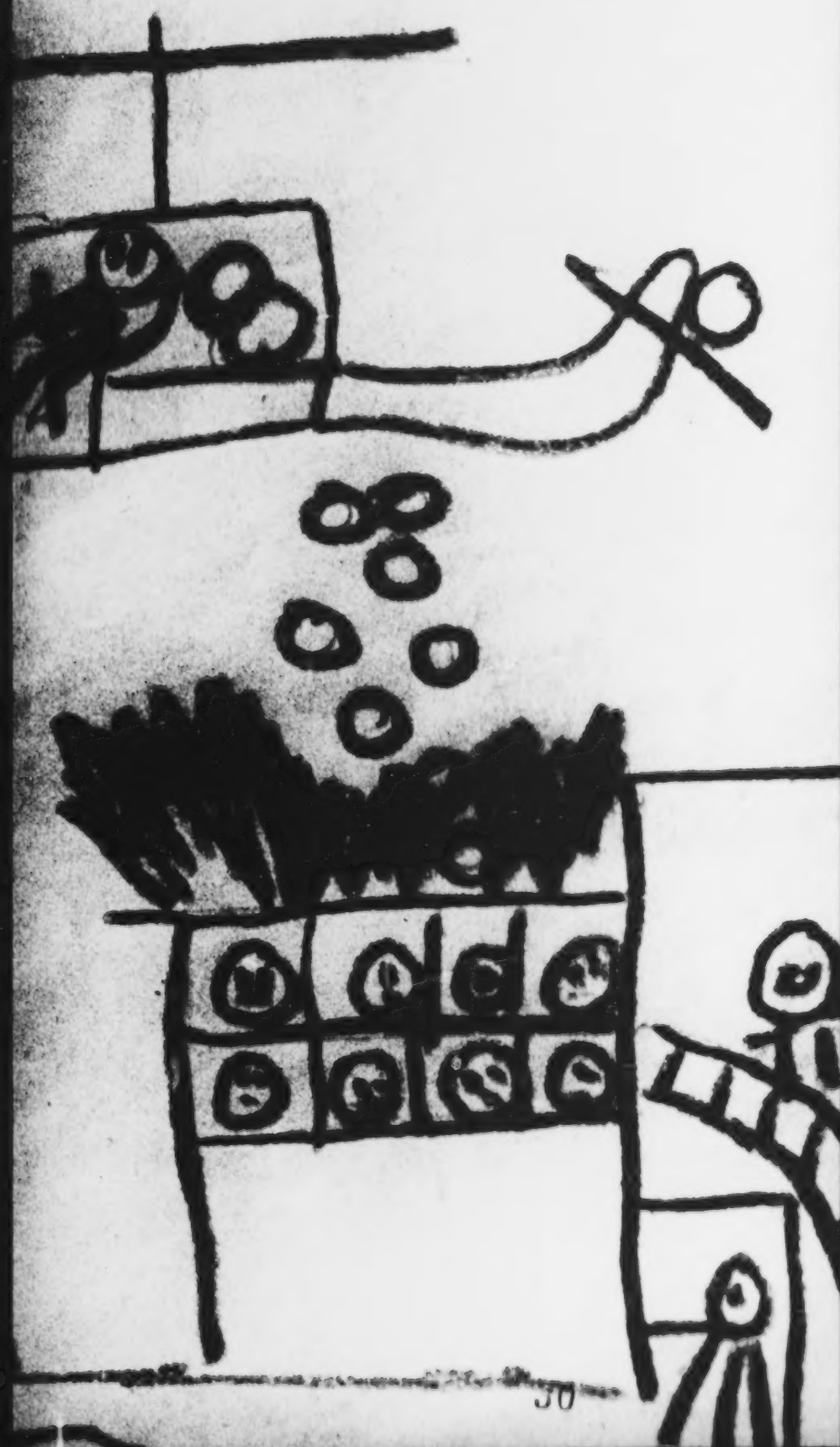
As many as 2.7 million school-aged immigrants are now in the United States as a result of historic recent levels of immigration which started during the 1960s and peaked during the last decade. Because they have settled in a limited number of states and cities, their impact on local areas is increased.

Dominated by Asian, Hispanic and Caribbean people, the current migration brings with it a variety of diverse backgrounds, languages, and cultures, many of which are new to this country.

As immigrant students enter U.S. public schools, their unique experiences, skills, and problems pose a challenge which will have a profound impact on the nation's future.



Drawing by Mayan child, Guatemala.



Comin
to a
New La

Coming to a New Land

Immigrant students now in the nation's public schools have arrived here propelled by forces of war, political oppression, economic struggle, and hope for the future.

While their entrance into this country surely marks a new beginning for each individual, it does not mean the past has simply disappeared. Immigrants leave a life and a land behind which indelibly shapes their outlook and behavior. Their native cultures and experiences are critical elements of their personalities, providing identity and self-esteem in a world which has sorely tested both.

Many new immigrants arriving in the United States enter a legal limbo made all the more uncertain by the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). In the worst cases, children are jailed in government detention centers, denied both an education and a clear process to gain release.

This chapter examines some of the major barriers which confront young immigrants as they struggle to make the transition to life in the United States — a struggle that often acts to transform their unique strengths into vulnerabilities which threaten their successful education.

Cross-Cultural Conflicts

As children enter the United States from distant lands, their first experience is the clash between their primary cultures and the norms of their new home. In a land where relatively few citizens can speak or write anything but English, language is a primary source of conflict. The behaviors and traditions carried here from native lands also act to magnify the friction between newcomers and native-born Americans.

Language as a Barrier

*Laotian Student
Greenfield, MA*

We know that despite the English language, I am a very intelligent girl."

The cultures of immigrant children are embedded in their mother tongue. Each language holds a world view, and the identity of the speaker. To learn a new language in a new environment, a child must develop a new identity (Gee, 1986).

Nevertheless, in all of the interviews with immigrant families and at all of its public hearings, the Project found unanimous agreement that learning English is important. The Project commonly heard comments like one offered by a 12-year-old Hmong girl who said she came to America "to learn English."¹ A young Vietnamese girl noted that to be successful in the United States, "you have to know English."²

Limited use of English, or none at all, is a common problem for immigrant students. As previously noted, many first-wave immigrants arrived with some command of English — certainly superior skills with a foreign language than is exhibited by the average American student. Subsequent arrivals, however, have less and less ability with English, and, in many cases, are not fully literate in their own language.

An 18-year-old Cambodian girl from a small rural town in Battambang Province explained that she never went to school before she came to Philadelphia (PA) because, "there were no schools at all under the Pol Pot regime" (1975-1979) and reading was forbidden. Even after six years in a Thailand camp where some schooling took place, she did not learn English because "my father (could) only afford to pay the school fee for my older brother."

A 14-year-old Hmong boy now living in St. Paul (MN) explained, "In Laos, there was a school that some farm children walked to, but it was too far [for me]." At the school, students studied math, art and other subjects in Lao, but English lessons were offered only privately and cost \$3 a week — too expensive for most refugees.

For some immigrants, the problem of learning a new language is particularly difficult. Asian children, even those from stable backgrounds with well-educated parents, must develop two strategies because of fundamental orthographic differences between their first language and English. Children from the Pacific Islands, Laotian hill tribes, and Montagnards from Vietnam have "dual handicaps" by coming from oral traditions with little exposure to written materials. Rarely, if ever, has anyone read to them (Niyekawa, 1986). As one hearing witness noted, this can be particularly hard on already struggling students:

❧The Khmuu people live in the highlands of Laos, and most of these parents... cannot read and write in their own language....some of the children have never been to school.

"Until the parents complained, the Boston school district was teaching these kids in Lao, neither the language of their home nor the language of the United States. The kids had to learn two languages simultaneously — English and Lao."

Complicating matters further, English — like any language — has differing forms. The style of English which must be mastered for the classroom is very different from the style of English which is spoken by children to each other on the playground.

English at Home

The home can be an important place to learn and practice English. But an analysis of the Project's interviews of immigrant families reveals very limited knowledge or use of English in the home.

Only 15% of parents reported speaking some English to their children; 82% reported speaking no English to their children at all. Children reported speaking English to their parents only slightly more often. Thirty-two percent of children said they spoke English at home occasionally to each other, and only 9% of children said they spoke English at home to each other frequently.

The home is not yet a fertile place for immigrant students to gain effective English-language skills. Public schools remain as the front lines in the effort to give immigrant children equal access to a productive future.

Sister Lumina
Education Consultant,
Khmuu Family Community, Boston, MA

The Move for "English Only"

One of the great ironies the Project confronted was the "English Only" or "English First" movement now active in many areas of the country.

Fueled by a backlash from the growing perception that America is rapidly becoming a multicultural and, in many areas, a multi-lingual society, several states have formally adopted legislation declaring English as their "official" language, undercutting public funding of educational programs serving students who speak little or no English.

A paper prepared by the National Immigration, Refugee & Citizenship Forum suggested the appeal of this movement results from a variety of sources — patriotism, fear of the consequences of bilingualism, visions of uncontrollable immigration, a misunderstanding of the movement's true agenda, chauvinism, and racism.

Without regard to the merits of the various supporting arguments, the consequences might well be played out in the public schools in ways even "English Only" proponents would not support — a denial of the opportunity to learn English.

The "English Only" movement has other perverse outcomes. Because it arises from attitudes that those who speak only English are somehow superior to those who speak other languages, it sends a clear message to newcomers that their languages and cultures are unwelcome and inferior — a point of view which ill-prepares this country for the realities of its domestic and international future. A witness at the Project's New York hearing expressed her thoughts:

Haydee Zambrana
Executive Director, Concerned Citizens
of Queens, NY

"...[this movement] is a clear sign of racism. It is the reflection that this society rejects immigrants...when the abuse stops, and when this society is ready to accept the richness that lives within these immigrants, then we will be able to talk about access to schools and special education. Then we will be able to talk about freedom and what it means to every child, regardless of race, nationality, or color. Then we can talk about the rights of every child to have an honest and good education in the public school system..."

Immigrant students need access to English for an equal chance at success in their other courses, as explained by Patricia Gandara at the Project's San Francisco hearing:

Patricia Gandara
Assembly Office of Research,
Sacramento, CA

"Independent of ethnic background, individuals from homes where English is not spoken, and who themselves do not speak English, drop out of school at a rate approximately four times that of individuals from an English-speaking background."

Finally, language can be a key to freedom — or a condemnation to isolation. In the words of one child: "We were lonely. We couldn't play with anybody. We couldn't talk to anybody. We were lonely all the time." Or, as stated by a New York hearing witness: "Just imagine how powerless and helpless an American child would feel taking Chinese from an instructor who knew no English..."

The Clash of Cultures

Immigrant children bring into the classroom their cultural scripts for roles modeled on the material and social environment of their previous lives. Their norms of behavior are part of the lives they no longer live, but cannot forget. To survive, they must strive to integrate the old scripts with the new.

It is important to realize, however, that while the millions of immigrants which composed the most recent migration have much in common, they are also remarkably distinct, and face differing problems and pressures:

“An analysis of educational barriers for the children from each of these groups has to be informed by an understanding of their commonalities as well as an identification of their individual experience.

“Collectively, they share the fact that they are Third World people in the U.S., exposed probably for the first time to racism, and beginning to understand the meaning of being a person of color in American society. They also share the fact that they are adjusting to a different culture, learning a new language, that they have families which cannot be very helpful in understanding the ways of American life.

“But clearly, how they entered the U.S. and the policies that greeted them differ for each group and...cannot be ignored. The problems of documentation, the differences in resources available for refugees verses those available for non-refugees or undocumented people, and the differences in class and educational background among the groups have to be taken into consideration.”

Cultural distinctions impart different learning skills and may affect classroom behavior and participation. More than 15 years ago, anthropologist Susan Philips, observing Indian children at the Warm Springs reservation in central Oregon, noted that students were reluctant to speak alone in front of the class, or to speak when requested by the teacher. However, when given the opportunity to work within a group and to perform self-directed activities, the children became willing participants. Philips assigned this behavior to the children's “invisible culture”—the native source of their everyday etiquette and expression.

The Project found culturally-based practices and behavior to be a major source of confusion and conflict for young immigrants. Native-born Americans were often unable to understand the behaviors of other cultures, expressing differences both subtle and overt:

“The cultural patterns of Salvadorans and Central Americans in general are very different from the cultural patterns of this country...for example, cooperative learning is very essential for Central Americans. Cooperation and collectivity are always regarded as very essential values, while in this country what is valued is individualism and competition.”

“You cannot tell the child: ‘You come here’...[or]...‘Go up in front of the class and say something.’ We are not accustomed to that. Southeast Asians are very, very passive and they respect older people.”

“There were little idiosyncracies that the teachers had to understand, such as not to take offense if these [Southeast Asian] children don't look you in the eye—that's merely a sign of respect. Don't pat them on the head—that's insulting.”

Professor Miren Uriarte
University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA

Carlos Cordova
San Francisco University,
San Francisco, CA

Prem Suksawat
Bilingual School Psychologist, Lowell, MA

William Waxman
Principal, Garfield Elementary School,
Revere, MA

Oscar Chacon
National Co-Coordinator, Comité
El Salvador, Cambridge, MA;
National Advisory Panel

¶ Another important aspect that I think it's important to know about the Central American community is that after decades and decades of poverty, people have come to think that going to school is not really important in life. And when they arrive in the United States, that takes time to change."

A paper prepared by the Southeast Asian Learners Project of the Long Beach Unified School Department in California highlights interesting examples of behavior subject to misunderstanding:

- because Buddhists regard feet as the part of the body with the least value, pointing feet at someone is considered a grave insult by many Southeast Asian students;
- calling someone with hand gestures is considered rude by Cambodians, as these motions are used to call dogs or to challenge someone to a fight; the commonly used hand signal for "ok" confuses Cambodians because it means "zero" or "no good;"
- crossed fingers—used by Americans to invite good luck—is considered obscene by Southeast Asians;
- the Cambodian practice of rubbing hot coins on foreheads and throats to relieve pain leaves marks on a child which can be interpreted as abuse.

Perhaps the most striking story came from a Fresno, California principal who told a Hmong parent that his son was to be punished for fighting. "It's all right if you discipline my child," the father said, "just please do not cripple him or blind him."

Parents, and the home environment, are a primary source of native culture and tradition for young immigrants in their new land. Older people are more grounded in the norms of their lands of origin. More than 80% of immigrant parents interviewed by the Project believe it is important for their children to retain their native language and culture, while at the same time unanimously wanting their children to learn English. Correspondingly, a California study shows that 78% of immigrant students in that state report also wanting to retain their native language (Olsen, 1988).

The expectations immigrant parents hold for their children are often shaped by the norms of their native lands. A Vietnamese mother in Amherst, Massachusetts offered some insight into just how exact such norms can be:

¶ In Vietnam, there are five main principles which we always keep in mind in order to unite a family system: the authority of the king over the subject; the authority of the father over the children; the authority of husband over wife; the inequality of the sexes; and the priority of reason over sentiment."

In contrast, a Haitian mother interviewed in Boston illustrated how reaction to native culture can act to expand a child's horizon, rather than limit it:

¶ I have great dreams for my daughter. In my culture, expectations are very low for females. It is devastating. I want my daughter to be herself, to see life—not to have to pay such a high price in pain and frustration."

The effects of cultural differences on young immigrants' chances for quality education surface in most every section of this report. One hearing witness pondered the outcome of this clash of cultures:

“Very often, when I read about Cambodians and Vietnamese children, or the children coming from Central America or Haiti and the Dominican Republic, I ask myself: What will it be like for them now that the doors that were open to me are closing? Will they be able to get enough education to understand what happened to them? Will the environment be one in which they can safely explore who they are becoming and one which will appreciate their bi-culturality? Or will they perish physically and spiritually in the anger and confusion of not knowing who they are or why they are here; of losing their language and never quite acquiring the other one; of losing ties to their own culture while not being allowed to participate fully in the new one.”

Children as Go-Betweens

Immigrant historian Rudolf Vecoli, in an address to the Project's National Advisory Panel, spoke of how:

“...the immigrant child lives between two cultures—that of the family, and that of the mainstream society. He is thus exposed to the conflicting values of home, peer group, school, to clashing definitions of the good life, and to the tug and pull of competing loyalties.”

Immigrant children often become cultural interpreters and arbiters because school and part-time work take them beyond the tightly knit environment of home and community. Because they are exposed daily to the norms of U.S. culture, many develop skills in language and behavior more quickly than their parents and family.

Language skills impart increased responsibility to youngsters to conduct family affairs, often transferring authority and status from parents to children, as illustrated by one hearing witness:

“At quite an early age...children serve as interpreters for their parents and help their families confront many adult tasks. For example, if their tenement has no heat in the winter, the school child who knows English might be the one to place a telephone call...these immigrant children face much more responsibility and pressure than the average American school child.”

Analysis of the Project's interviews with immigrant families showed almost half of the students (49%) did translating for other members of the household. For Hispanic households, this reached 69%.

Young immigrants soon feel the emotional contradictions between family pressure to cling to traditions and the lure of modern Western life:

“He [an immigrant student] is living in two worlds. During the day, he is American. He is trying to ‘Americanize’ himself. He is trying to feed in. He has a lot of peer pressure to deal with. And when he comes home at night, he is Haitian. And that is very hard. He has two different sets of rules to follow.”

Rudolf Vecoli
*Director, Immigration History
 Research Center, University of
 Minnesota, St. Paul, MN*

Reine Lerry
*Intergroup Relations Representative,
 Dade County Public Schools, FL*

The Oppression of War, Race, and Class

The Project found the lives and hopes of immigrant students in the United States to be fundamentally shaped by three dominant forces: the traumas of war and violence, the isolation of racism, and the struggle to survive economically in a new land.

The Trauma of Violence

All too many recent immigrants come to this country from a native land torn by war and violence.

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have suffered from decades of almost unimaginable brutality, ranging from bloody civil wars to protracted revolutions. The Vietnamese have fought the French, the United States, the Chinese, and each other. After surviving intensive U.S. bombings, Cambodians have recently struggled through a civil war which may have cost more than two million lives. The hill tribes of Laos have been drawn into these conflicts for generations as both patriots and mercenaries. Children from these lands have never known a time without war.

El Salvador and Guatemala are both convulsed in civil wars marked by terrorism and torture, inevitably affecting neighbors like Honduras and Costa Rica. In Haiti, beatings and executions have kept a series of oppressive dictators in power.

The Project heard many grim stories of the stark realities of war and violence. One young Guatemalan girl refused to use the color red in any of her art class drawings. Her art teacher later learned the child's entire family had been massacred, and she had been locked up in the house for 18 hours with the bloodied victims.

Oscar Chacon
National Co-Coordinator, Comité
El Salvador, Cambridge, MA;
National Advisory Panel

David Gilbert
Researcher, San Francisco, CA

Pedro Rodriguez
Medical Director, James Weldon Johnson
Counseling Center, NY

Kathy Jarvis
Advocates for Children of New York, NY

William Arroyo
Child Psychiatrist, Los Angeles
Unified School District, CA

"There are countless, countless situations where children...were in the classroom where their teacher...was killed by armed people in different countries in Central America. And that is something that definitely affects a kid's performance and the overall ability for them to adapt into the school system."

"...in Cambodia...many teachers were executed...schools were destroyed and children sent to live on 'work farms,' often separated from their families...almost half the population died, either by starvation, disease, execution, or the war."

"...these children have experienced the disappearance of a relative, or killing of a relative...some of them also experience the temporary disappearance and torture of their father. These children also have observed the mutilated corpses lying on the streets of El Salvador, and have heard the aerial bombing of neighboring towns..."

"...a Queens [NY] elementary school guidance counselor...said she needed help. 'I've got an 8-year-old in my school. She's come from El Salvador. She's not doing well in school. She's acting out. She's fighting with everyone...' We talked a little more, and the guidance counselor said she had discovered something that was truly incredible: 'You know, I think her problems might have to do with the fact that she came from El Salvador last year. She saw her father put up against the wall and shot by government troops. Shot dead. He died before her eyes.'"

"...[some] were directly victimized in the form of severe beatings, gunshot wounds, rape, and torture. Another high risk category was that of children or adolescents who helplessly witnessed...an act of violence against other loved ones...random shootings, skirmishes, aerial bombardments, and other war related acts of violence were commonplace in the lives of these youngsters."

Although Dr. Arroyo was generally discussing students from Central America in the quote above, Neil Boothby (1986) found the same problems among Cambodian youth, and noted:

“...children who have witnessed the death of a parent, particularly when violence was involved, seemed especially plagued by these troubling nightmares.”

Staff at Boston's South Cove Community Health Center found Cambodian children still suffering from recurrent nightmares and bad memories of life in their native land (Stephen, *et al.*, 1985). A Cambodian student in Providence, Rhode Island, when asked what he had been taught in his native land, said with a bitter look in his eyes: “You don't want to know.”

The trial of fleeing home extended the horror for many recent immigrants. The escape of Vietnamese refugees by boat was often brutal. Pirates attacked on the open seas—robbing, raping, and murdering. Among fleeing bombing and persecution had to face the Mekong River to get to Thailand. Babies, women, and elderly who panicked in the swift water were swept away (Walker, 1987).

One 10-year-old from Vietnam perplexed his teachers because he never spoke in class and never raised his eyes. Only after family members shared his history did teachers understand. Crowded into a tiny boat, two of his brothers, his sister and his uncle were drowned in a storm—he was forced not to cry for fear of alerting enemies. Two years later, he was still silent. Another Vietnamese student was very concerned because his classmates were so much “younger than me that I don't want them to know what happened to me” (Walker, 1987).

Dr. Arroyo's patients related “horror tales of crossing the U.S./Mexican border” where young people “were piled, as much as ten, in an automobile truck,” and “others were placed in makeshift compartments by an engine.” Arroyo told of “a couple of youngsters that I treated [who] had severe burns they sustained in attempting to cross to the U.S.”

For many Southeast Asians, successful escape from their homeland was the beginning of another trial—confinement in refugee camps for months or years. More than 75% of Southeast Asians interviewed by the Project reported having come to the U.S. from a camp. More than 85% reported having been in a camp at some point. Twenty percent reported waiting four to six years between leaving their homes before arriving in the United States.

“Now bear in mind that an average student from Cambodia has missed formal school for...five or six years...because the Pol Pot regime reigned for four years, and then the fighting, the occupation, the fighting between the Vietnamese and Cambodian remnants and so on, and then life in refugee camps along the Cambodian/Thai border.”

“[Southeast Asian students] need to feel supported as they adjust to American school life...this need for school orientation is compounded by the fact that many have had very limited and disrupted schooling in their native countries. They cannot transfer basic concepts and information about school from their own experience to this experience. They have no experience at all.”

Rithipol Yem
Cambodian Mutual Assistance
Association, Boston, MA

Julie Criscitello
Metropolitan Indochinese Children and
Adolescent Services, Boston, MA

Family Separation

The relief associated with escape can be tinged by anxiety over those left behind. Some students and parents told the Project of being haunted by family members and loved ones remaining back at home, stuck in refugee camps, or who did not survive the dangers of the journey.

Family separation is a recurring theme as Haitian, Central American, Southeast Asian, and Mexican families have come to the United State piecemeal. The story of one Salvadoran family living in Boston (MA) is a good illustration. The father came alone first. Two years later, the mother followed with her son. The two oldest daughters, aged 17 and 18, arrived several months later. Finally, the two youngest children, girls aged 9 and 13 who had been living with an aunt in El Salvador, joined the rest of the family.

Dolores Sloan of the Community Counseling Service told the Project's Los Angeles hearing:

“Most of the recent immigrants to the United States are separated from their nuclear and extended families, left behind in the country of origin. They need to develop new support systems. Confused by culture shock and traumatized by fear and economic struggle, many of them by war and violence—they are a high risk population in terms of mental health and physical illness...”

For Vietnamese boys, family reunification can be a source of turmoil during their first year in the United States. Many were sent out of Vietnam by their parents with the express purpose of gaining a foothold in America so the rest of the family could follow, a role often filled by the father for some Mexican and Central American families.

One Vietnamese youngster interviewed by the Project left without telling his parents. Nevertheless, he wants very much to have them join him here. He has completed the required paperwork, but he says they are unwilling or unable to file the necessary documents in Vietnam to gain permission to leave. He feels very lonely here and misses his family a lot (Walker, 1987).

Ties to Home

Immigrant parents and students from various countries expressed the hope that one day they would be able to return to their homelands to live:

“One day [we]...want to see the real situation in my country change...the day it comes true, we're going to come back. Because we believe that we don't belong here, and that's our reality. We don't belong here. We belong to our mother land, and we believe that there we can create a better future than here.”

The Project was continually confronted by the damage of violence on young lives. Among the symptoms reported to affect immigrant children were depression, impaired memory, panic, severe insomnia, periods of disorientation and confusion, reliving of war experiences, separation anxiety, family conflicts, isolation, and suicide.

These experiences of survival are beyond the understanding of most Americans, certainly beyond the norms for American students. While the exact behavioral and psychological outcomes are not yet known, it is safe to say they must be appreciated in the classroom.

Marcos Garcia
Social Worker, Centro Presente,
Cambridge, MA

Perhaps the most remarkable observation of all is the extraordinary courage and resiliency common to young immigrants. Regardless of their experiences of the darkest sides of life, most emerge as optimistic and well balanced — ready to face the demands of building a new life.

Racial Tension

As noted, one of the most fundamental characteristics of newly arrived immigrants when compared to previous migrations is their ethnic background. In contrast to earlier arrivals composed largely of Europeans and Scandinavians, current immigrants are predominantly Hispanic, Asian, and Caribbean. While they have come to a country which is beginning to acknowledge its own increasing ethnic variety, immigrants frequently face racial tension, often for the first time in their lives.

The same Vietnamese girl who stressed the importance of learning English earlier in the chapter made other shrewd observations during her testimony. In addition to English, she noted that "Spanish is helpful" for success in America, then added with a great deal of insight, "it would help to be White."

Interviews with immigrant parents and students across the country revealed racial tension between newcomers and native-born Americans, and between immigrant groups themselves. Cambodians and Puerto Ricans faced off in Lowell, Massachusetts. Hispanics and Southeast Asians bickered in Providence, Rhode Island. Haitians tangled with American Blacks in Florida. In Philadelphia, Boston, and California — Hispanic, Black, White, and Asian youngsters argued and fought in school gyms — a common site for racial conflict.

The Project heard numerous reports about ethnic gangs in various parts of the country, some of them formed to defend against other groups. A Filipino community leader in Los Angeles testified that "to compete with mainstream society, many Filipino youth are turning to gangs as a method of gaining self-esteem and as a method of power."

It is not hard to understand why youth gangs develop. Greer (from Prickett, 1983) wrote about immigrant children in general:

What the child brings with him to the public school classroom is not a pure or direct product of an historic land of origin, but the combined product of some of those patterns and the patterns established by the group in order to survive in the place assigned to it in America."

Vecoli (1987) talks about the "deep seated inferiority complex which affected many immigrant children." Because American society and the public schools do not affirm the positive value of all children's backgrounds, they are not provided with a defense against the negative self-images they pick up at school. The internalization of racial prejudice can cause self-hatred, causing children to turn on their parents and reject their native culture. One Chinese girl testified in Los Angeles:

I started to hate myself when I failed to answer the teacher's questions...because I couldn't express my answers in English. Then I began to hate everything in the world, including my parents because they took me to this country."

Coming to a New Land

It is important to note, however, that most immigrant youngsters the Project interviewed said they did not approve of fighting, and almost 70% reported that they had American friends.

Racial tension is not confined to the schools. A Salvadoran mother living in Boston expressed the concerns of some immigrants when she reported that she and her five children lived "in a state of fear" in what she called "a very racist neighborhood with a high crime rate and a great deal of violence." A Cambodian in Philadelphia claimed: "I don't feel safe in my neighborhood."

While the Project did hear vivid testimony concerning racism and fear, many parents and students interviewed said they do not feel unsafe in the United States. This issue is explored further in relation to school climate in Chapter 3.

Economic Struggle

Fleeing war, oppression, and economic hardship, most immigrant families arrive in the United States with few or no personal resources. They must settle where they can afford housing, find work, and join other immigrants to form a support community — most often in a poor, urban area.

Recently arrived immigrants come from vastly differing economic backgrounds. Some are from the most privileged sector of their society, while others have only known extreme poverty, as expressed by Dr. Arroyo at the Project's Los Angeles hearing: "Poverty is rampant in Central America, the extent and degree to which Americans are simply not familiar with and have a difficult time conceptualizing." Regardless of their previous experience, most face economic hardship in the United States.

More than two-thirds of the immigrant families interviewed by the Project appeared to be struggling economically. Walker (1987) reports high levels of poverty among adult Indochinese, increasing substantially for those arriving after 1978.

The immediate outlook for improvement is not particularly bright, as newly arrived immigrants are entering the U.S. economy at a time when minorities are moving into poverty at an ever increasing rate — particularly women and children.

Almost half of Black families now live below the poverty line, increasing to 68% for families headed by women (U.S. Census, 1983). In 1984, more than 20% of all children lived in poverty, with at least two million more children moving into poverty during the last ten years (Hodgkinson, 1985). Minority school-aged children are particularly vulnerable. Of children under 15 years of age below the poverty line, 48% are Black and 39% are Hispanic (U.S. Census, 1983, 1984).

According to District Superintendent Loyda Alfalla, economic trends affecting minorities may be even worse for some immigrants: "While the proportion of poor residents in New York City increased by 19.5% from 1970 to 1980, our community's poor residents grew during that period by 108.5%, more than five times the city's rate of change."

Employment

The American economy is undergoing great change as it shifts from an industrial base to a service base. Job opportunities are becoming increasingly polarized into two general categories — highly skilled occupations offering good wages and low-paying jobs requiring minimal skills.

The largest number of new jobs until 1990 will be available for janitors, hospital orderlies, sales clerks, cashiers, waiters and waitresses, fast food workers, and secretaries — occupations requiring minimal skills and paying modest wages (Hodgkinson, 1986).

Reflecting this shift is a comparison of the occupations of a group of Central American and Mexican immigrants in the first and second half of the 1970s. In the first half of the decade, 12% held white collar jobs (professional, technical, sales, clerical), 60% held blue collar jobs (crafts, operative, labor), 15% held service jobs, and 14% held farm-related jobs. During the second half of the decade, white collar employment had dropped to 9%, blue collar had dropped to 53%, service employment had increased to 21%, and farm employment had increased to 17%."

Historically, the economic success of immigrants in this country has been limited by their native class background. Studying immigrants living at the turn of the century in Providence, Rhode Island, Perlmann (1988) found "the class position of an ethnic group in the American social structure was itself a result of the pre-migration characteristics of the group, and of the extent of discrimination against it, as well as of employment opportunities in the particular economy." Farley and Neidert (1986) studied the occupations of three generations of adult immigrants and found notable differences among them due to their class background and other characteristics in their native land.

As explained by labor economist Edward Taylor and presented in detail in Chapter 1, for immigrants "education more than ever before is going to be the key to escaping from poorly paying, dead-end jobs."

The financial conditions of many immigrants are further weakened by the need to support more than one household, most often in the land of origin. One-third of Hispanics and three-quarters of Haitians interviewed by the Project reported supporting multiple households. Hearing testimony supported this finding — particularly for school-aged immigrants:

"A lot of people, 13- to 14-year-old boys for example, that have come into the United States alone, by themselves or just with a friend, are supposed to come and stay at a parent's or relative's house. But they know that they have sisters, they have brothers, they sometimes have parents that are waiting for them to support them. And they cannot do it by attending school."

"...in order to keep alive our entire family because we are split, we have half here and half there, in order to support our half here and support another half there — in El Salvador, we have to work two jobs."

Oscar Chacon
National Co-Coordinator, Comité
El Salvador, Cambridge, MA;
National Advisory Panel

Marcos García
Social Worker, Centro Presente,
Cambridge, MA

Coming to a New Land

This kind of job pressure has predictable results on schooling. As expressed by one witness at the Project's New York Hearing, young immigrants "are often forced to choose between going to school and working full-time. Obviously, the demands of work cut into study time or concentration for school... some young adults give up on school altogether. The economic pressure is too great."¹¹

A Project interviewer recorded the case of a young immigrant: "He does not have much time for his homework because he works after school at the Presidio about four to five hours a day, and he is very tired. He is sort of sliding along. Just doing enough work to get by. His grades are Bs and Cs, and there have been some Ds and Fs."¹²

Housing

The housing available to most immigrants is familiar to those acquainted with the U.S. urban poor:

Immigrant households tend to be larger than those of the average native-born family. Less than a third of those interviewed by the project lived in an apartment or house with less than four people, while over 60% lived in households with five to nine members. Ten percent of Southeast Asians had more than ten people in a single household.

Hearing witnesses documented the difficult living conditions endured by many immigrant families:

"If we had enough fire marshals, we could probably condemn 90% of immigrant housing."

"...they live, father and mother and three children plus a baby, in roughly two rooms which are filled with beds... [they] don't like to pay big light bills, so many times they don't have any light at all except in one room, usually the kitchen."

"...rents for new immigrant families have skyrocketed, and an illegal practice of collecting so-called 'key money' — that is a lump sum cash payment of hundreds or even thousands of dollars for the key to a Chinatown apartment — creates a heavy economic burden."

"...each day we hear horror stories of rats, people sleeping in holes in bathrooms and kitchens, children not being able to study because they are sharing a room with a number of other individuals."

One student in Lowell, Massachusetts stated that he could not use his front door because the landlord took the key. The stove also did not work, but the family is afraid to complain, fearing the landlord will throw them out (Walker, 1987).

Maria Sooy

Coordinator, FOCUS Project, Belmont High School, Los Angeles, CA

Yanick Rasagale

Social Worker, Coalition of Florida Workers' Organizations (COFWO), FL

May Ying Chen

Legal Assistant, ILGWT Immigration Project, New York, NY

Ignacio Garcia

Counselor, Belmont High School, Orange County, CA

Health Care

Lack of adequate health care, a problem for many Americans, is particularly acute for young immigrants. A New York pediatrician described how these children are particularly at risk:

"...we know that the types of diseases that are prevalent in the countries from which these children come tend to be the diseases that have been found in these children...namely, malnutrition, anemia, dental cavities, communicable diseases, very high incidence of parasites, tuberculosis, and untreated ear infections that have resulted in deafness...some studies...suggest...there's a higher infant mortality rate amongst immigrant children than the general population."

*Garth Alperstein
Pediatrician, NY*

Because state and federal Medicare coverage is not available for many immigrants, as discussed in the next section, access to the very expensive American health care system is severely limited. Poor access can lead to perverse outcomes, as explained by Dr Garth Alperstein of New York City:

"We have seen kids brought into the emergency room in advanced stages of disease, requiring hospital admission [who have] gone home with a bill of \$10,000 from the hospital for a disease that if treated a week earlier could have been cured with an \$8 antibiotic."

Evelyn Linares of the Community Association of Progressive Dominicans summed up the urban environment facing many immigrants with a vivid verbal snapshot:

"...the unemployment rate as of last year was something like 12%. That particular area is the highest crime area in the whole city — highest in terms of homicides, murders and what not...we're not necessarily a high voting area at this time, I think a lot of things just get swept under the rug."

*Evelyn Linares
Community Association of
Progressive Dominicans, New York, NY*

"In terms of housing, these are probably the most dilapidated houses in the poorest conditions, paying probably the highest rents...there are no renovations going on really right now; and it doesn't look like there is going to be any."

"...in terms of health...there are no proper health facilities...we were highest in terms of teen pregnancy, and there were literally no prenatal care services...so that gives you more or less the picture of where we're all at..."

Diminished Safety Net

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (OBRA-86) have significant impacts on federal and state benefits available to immigrants.

IRCA specifically disqualifies many classes of immigrants from receiving certain types of public assistance for a period of five years after they are granted temporary residency status. Benefits are denied for programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Food Stamps and, with exceptions, Medicaid. The Attorney General of the United States has issued draft regulations limiting access to 14 public benefit programs issued under federal law on the basis of financial need, including most forms of public housing assistance. The provisions of IRCA also grant states the authority to limit access to state-funded assistance programs."

Coming to a New Land

OBRA-86 introduced restrictions to federal Medicaid assistance for immigrants for the first time. After a court challenge, the provision of emergency services and services for pregnant women was incorporated into the statute.

Access is still open to some federal programs providing important educational and nutritional benefits because, in the words of the U.S. House Committee on Education and Labor, "It is not the intent of this legislation [IRCA] to deprive newly legalized aliens of program benefits that are crucial to their overall educational development and nutritional well being." Thus, assistance is available under programs such as Chapter I, Head Start, SSL, Child Welfare, and Hill-Burton."

While some federal and state public benefit programs remain open to immigrants, a provision of IRCA implements the SAVE program which requires state welfare agencies to verify each applicant's legal status by checking with the INS computer system. For those seeking positive rulings on their applications for legalization, participation in public assistance programs can label them as "likely to become a public charge"—grounds for denial of legal status. Such an outcome is a powerful deterrent for most immigrants.

In fact, for a variety of reasons, taking advantage of public assistance programs is troublesome for many immigrants:

"...we have a very large Haitian community in Homestead [FL], but they will not use our facilities because they are scared. They don't want welfare because they think that later they will have problems with immigration...all our programs...the Haitians are not using them..."

"...there are benefits that are available to the undocumented, to asylees and refugees, to permanent residents that they're afraid to apply for, that they don't understand their eligibility for..."

"...new immigrants are barred from receiving public assistance, and those families wishing to sponsor other relatives to immigrate must prepare to show the financial means to support these newcomers. Thus, on the whole, the Chinese community avoids government assistance..."

Yanick Rasagale
Social Worker, (COFWO) Coalition of
Florida Workers Organization, FL

Allan Wernick
Center for Immigrant Rights,
New York, NY

May Ying Chen
Legal Assistant, ILGWT Immigration
Project, New York, NY

Legal Status

Appendix D offers a thorough discussion of the legal rights of immigrant students and their parents in U.S. public schools. Because this area of the law is still developing, it is an extremely dynamic field for legal argument. While courts, lawyers and lawmakers battle over the rights of the country's newest immigrants, children are severely impacted by their uncertain status.

The Plight of Undocumented Children

Estimates vary widely on the number of undocumented immigrants who have entered the United States during this current great migration of immigrants. Conservative estimates set the annual influx during the 1970s and 1980s at 100,000 to 300,000 (Haney, 1987; U.S. Census Bureau, 1985). Others feel the annual level of entrants during this period was closer to 500,000 (Chapman, 1976; Reubens, 1978).

Estimates of the total undocumented population in the U.S. also vary widely: 4 to 12 million (Chapman, 1975); 8.2 million (Lesko Associates, 1975); and 8 to 10 million (Corwin, 1981). Dr. Jeffrey Passel of the U.S. Census Bureau believes the number is much lower—in the range of 2.5 million by the early 1980s (Passel, 1985). In work prepared for this Project, Walter Haney (1987) calculated the size of the undocumented population to be as high as 6.2 million.¹

Analysis of data collected by the 1980 U.S. Census concerning over 2 million undocumented immigrants reveals 77% come from Mexico and Latin America. Asia accounts for 10%, Europe for 9%, with the remaining 4% from various other nations.

California is home for 50% of undocumented immigrants, with New York, Texas, Illinois, and Florida home for about 30%. The remaining population is scattered among the other 45 states. Urban areas of concentration include Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, Anaheim, Washington (DC), San Francisco, Houston, San Diego, Miami, and Dallas.

More than half of the undocumented population is male, and more than two-thirds are under 30 years of age. Almost one-fifth are under 15 years of age. Hundreds of thousands of undocumented children are in the public schools (Passel, 1985; Haney, 1987).

Fear of Deportation

Not surprisingly, the fear of deportation has a profound impact on the lives of undocumented students. Their psychology is described in a paper prepared for the Project by the Intercultural Development Research Association of San Antonio, Texas:

“An illegal immigrant child will be afraid of authority, of being ‘discovered,’ and shoulders an enormous responsibility not to jeopardize the residency status of his family and parents.

“This fear is expressed in a reluctance to interact with school officials, to receive recognition, or to ‘get into trouble’ and call unwarranted attention to himself which may lead to discovery of his illegal residency status. Such a fear can poison teacher-student relationships. Teachers may feel the immigrant child is not ‘trying,’ or comes from a family that is not interested.

“Teachers of immigrant children have also expressed the regret that this fear prevents the child from getting close to peers and teachers, even when both want to establish closer relationships...”

Testimony at Project hearings reinforced the unique problems faced by undocumented students:

*Albert Cortez
IDRA, San Antonio, TX*

Coming to a New Land

Dolores Sloan
Community Counseling Services, Los Angeles, CA

Pedro Rodriguez
Medical Director, James Weldon Johnson Counseling Center, NY

Garth Alperstein
Pediatrician, NY

"You cannot have a happy or fulfilled immigrant youth if you have a legal status where they live in constant fear of deportation and instant death. Unfortunately, the Central Americans — of whom there are 300,000 living in the area we serve — if they were deported, would face instant death. So, without some legalization of their asylum status, I don't think we would have very happy youth."

"We think...the persistence of depression and anxiety in these children is due to the peculiar situation of the Central American immigrant, which is the condition of being illegal. Which means that they could be identified, or they could be captured and they could be sent back to their native countries where they will find again the same condition[s] of violence and repression."

"We have seen children eight, nine and ten years old who've been brought in for whatever reason to a clinic, and we've discovered [they] aren't in school... because the parents are afraid that they'll be reported to the INS."

"We've seen children who are...sent in by the school at the age of six when they've gone to register, who've lived there for five years but haven't had one immunization — for fear once again of being reported to the INS."

IRCA

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) is primarily intended to limit the employment of unauthorized workers. It also allows undocumented immigrants residing in the United States prior to January of 1982, along with those in certain special categories, to apply for legal residency status. While this certainly provides the opportunity for many to escape an underground existence, those who have arrived during the last six years and those unable to prove the date of their arrival face deportation.

With the possibility of legal challenge and new legislation, the scope of IRCA's impact is not yet clear. Its impact on access to state and federal public assistance programs has already been mentioned. Another clear impact is the increased fear IRCA has generated among undocumented immigrants:

"We're worried about proving eligibility for a lot of these people. Many of these people may have lost documents. Many of the agricultural workers don't have proof that they may have worked for the time period which would make them eligible."

"Yesterday, I got a call from a 17-year-old boy whose father is a Cuban/Haitian entrant, but who has never made his presence known to the INS. He is currently in school, and he is working part-time. He is scared to death that because of the new legislation [IRCA] he is no longer going to be able to work since he is undocumented. He is petrified to turn himself in to INS, and at the same time he wants to be able to continue in school and work."

"...and now we have...the new immigration law [IRCA] that's going to affect directly the Salvadoran people...we've still been hearing in Centro Presente... that some families...don't want to send their own kids anymore to the school."

"...in return for this generosity [IRCA], such as it is...there will be a new focus on enforcement for those people who fall outside the terms of the offer of amnesty...I think you will see stepped up enforcement activities. You will see factory raids, field sweeps...bear in mind, there has been requested this survey of available detention space in Department of Defense facilities."

Cheryl Little
Attorney, Haitian Refugee Center, Miami, FL

Marcos Garcia
Social Worker, Centro Presente, Cambridge, MA

Arthur Helton
Attorney, Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, NY

The INS

Undocumented immigrants often have good reason to fear the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Testimony of mistreatment and harassment of immigrants by INS personnel was well documented by Attorney Cheryl Little at the Project's Florida hearing:

"We had a case of a young girl who waited at Krome 23 hours for this 15 minute hearing, and she finally was taken home at about 2:00 p.m. She called me the next morning to state that while she was being taken home, there was a female and [a] male INS guard. The male INS guard dropped the female guard off first, then took her home and on the way tried to ask her out to smoke or to drink...these types of propositions. And she was very upset...that was an awful type of burden to put on a child and it was totally inappropriate.

"Another lady was living with a man who at the time was supporting her and her three children. The man died in a tragic car accident. The lady went to INS with her documents to get renewal for her work authorization so she could get a job and support her three children. When she did this, INS took her documents. They also issued a letter legally revoking her work authorization...she was evicted from her home because she couldn't pay the rent, she and her three children suffered from severe malnutrition. We have letters from three doctors saying that one of the children suffered so badly from malnutrition that there was actual brain damage that might not be repaired.

"...[another woman] was picked up...in order to be deported back to Haiti...her 3-year-old son has no one to stay with right now. He is being sent from neighbor to neighbor, and these people are trying to look after him on a daily basis...the mother, needless to say, is going through incredible changes because of the helplessness she feels because of her son.

"...most of our clients are fearful all the time. When they go to INS to have their work authorizations renewed, very often their papers are taken from them, and then they're left with no documents at all. So, fear is a very real element...and I'm sure that it will carry through to the school..."

A witness at the Project's Los Angeles hearing told of "a recent incident where a 12-year-old boy was picked up riding his bicycle...that has sent fear amongst parents...[so] kids aren't going to school..."

Stories like these help explain why so many undocumented immigrants have not come forward to take advantage of IRCAs amnesty provisions which are administered by the INS. A discussion of INS intrusion into the classroom is offered in the next chapter.

Children in Detention

For thousands of immigrant children, escape from the violence of civil war leads only to a new form of oppression—incarceration in an INS-sponsored detention center. The Project considered the circumstances faced by these young people to be so acute that it commissioned a separate report examining the federal government's detention of minors.

Cheryl Little
Attorney, Haitian Refugee Center,
Miami, FL

The report, *Children in INS Prisons: An Educational Assessment* (1987), presents an overview of conditions for minors in these detention facilities, an evaluation of educational services, a review of legal and social standards, and recommendations to address this harsh treatment of young immigrants. Documentation for this section, except where otherwise noted, is based on Project background material current through spring of 1987.

More than 200 youngsters are being held in detention at any given time. With an average detention period of 18 days, thousands of children each year are exposed to these prison-like environments — some for extended periods of up to a year or longer.

During the past few years, the detention of immigrant minors has become so controversial that even the U.S. Department of Justice was forced last year to acknowledge the scope of this problem:

“During the past two years, significant numbers of minors have been entering the United States at various border points between the United States and Mexico. The largest concentration of entries are in the states of Texas and California. These minors come primarily from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras. When apprehended by Federal authorities, these minors are taken to either an INS Contract Facility or a Border Patrol Facility. For the most part, these are adult detention facilities which are not appropriate environments for the detention of dependent minors” (Morales, 1987).

The INS has never promulgated regulations covering the treatment of its detainees. As a result, conditions vary widely among facilities — those operated by the INS directly, those operated privately by contract with INS, and those operated by local governments. Major areas of abuse found common to most of the 117 detention facilities include:

- **commingling of children and unrelated adults:**
shared sleeping quarters with unrelated adults; commingling of unaccompanied young males with adult females; unaccompanied minor females of all ages housed with adult women; children and adults sharing unpartitioned showers and toilets; no physical barriers separating male and female sleeping quarters; use of arbitrarily assigned “surrogate mothers” without juvenile consent.
- **arbitrary strip searches of minors:**
some facilities strip search all minors upon admission, readmission, and after visits by family members or legal counsel; in centers where minors are routinely strip searched, there are no standard procedures, leading to situations where teenage boys are allowed to leave their underwear on while teenage girls are required to undress completely.
- **lack of recreation and exercise for minors:**
because INS imposes no minimum standards, recreational programs are almost entirely lacking; most detention centers have no trained personnel and offer no facilities for adequate indoor or outdoor recreation.
- **restricted visitation:**
with no INS policy on visitation, each detention center sets its own rules; some entirely prohibit family visits; others admit only those family members who can prove legal immigration status; most have highly restricted visiting hours and no facilities designated for visiting by family, friends, or legal counsel.

Of primary concern to the Project is the lack of adequate educational services. Because there are no standards governing the provision of education to detained minors, even the INS admits that 7 of the 12 largest facilities currently used to hold minors — accounting for almost two-thirds of all minors held — provide no educational instruction.

Almost half of all detained minors have no access to educational reading material. While most of the children aged 7 to 16 reported having attended school in the U.S. or their native land prior to arrest, few facilities had any programs or materials to allow them to continue their education. According to one INS official, providing an education "is not [an INS] function...it would be costly." Neither do INS contracts with private facilities contain any provisions mandating educational activity.

As a basis for comparison, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners require that all young prisoners be provided education: "The education of...young prisoners shall be compulsory and special attention shall be paid to it by the administration." U.S. courts have uniformly held that denying education to minors for more than a trivial period may violate the Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

The effect of incarceration on minors extends beyond the interruption of their education. Evidence of harassment of minors by guards is illustrated by the following:

“Some of the treatment provided bordered on child negligence or abuse... an example is a case involving two teenage girls. They reported that while in detention they were humiliated by the immigration officer who on at least two occasions threw food in their cell...by [placing] sandwiches on the upper side of his shoe and flinging the food into their cells...other children below the age of 10 have reported withholding of food.”

Testimony at Project hearings also illustrated the effect of imprisonment on young immigrants:

“When these young people get arrested, they are stuck in a situation where they are alone...there are very few people among them who speak English. There are no educational opportunities. There is no reading material for them in any language, and many times they are commingled with unrelated adults, both male and female. This creates problems for these young people because, for the most part, they come here suffering from trauma of the situation in their home country, and then they are incarcerated — not because they have committed a crime — but only because they have come to enter this country, thinking what they will find is some freedom...”

“These were young [female] teenagers...who were very upset...did not understand the whole process, were frightened about being in custody in a prison-like environment...when they would cry, they would be punished for a crime and put in a separate room and told: ‘Until you stop crying, you can’t come and go with some of the other young people’...if they didn’t eat the food because they were unfamiliar with the type of food that was being served, they would be served the same food over and over until they would eat it.”

William Arroyo
Child Psychiatrist,
Los Angeles Unified School District, CA

Carol Raimondi
Father Moriarity Central American
Refugee Program, San Francisco, CA

Cheryl Little
Attorney, Haitian Refugee Center,
Miami, FL

William Arroyo
 Child Psychiatrist,
 Los Angeles Unified School District, CA

Stress arising from incarceration in an emotionally harsh environment with no recreation or educational services can have lasting effects on young people:

"An environment such as a detention center...can potentially delay the youngster's developmental progress. The lack of organized activities limits these young detainees' progress toward the improvement of their motor skills...minimal formal instruction in detention centers decreases the likelihood that a youngster...will learn the fundamental educational skills that are normally acquired at this time and are essential for succeeding both in education and life in general. The fact that the majority of youngsters have been separated from their families will obviously limit their success with respect to family...some youngsters intermittently wondered if they would survive the ordeal of detention..."

"The longer the period of time...the more likely he or she will develop various psychological symptoms. These may include irritability, depression, hopelessness, anger, anorexia, insomnia, anxiety, and social withdrawal."

An Abbreviated Childhood

The unique experiences faced by many immigrant children in their native lands, and after arrival in the United States, can leave a child in a very vulnerable place. Coming to America with mixed educational backgrounds, with varying languages and cultures, and shouldering emotional burdens alien to most people, these children have been forced by circumstances to take on an extraordinary responsibility while still young.

A recent study of a group of Cambodian refugee children conducted by the Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Service (MICAS) in Massachusetts offered a provocative finding after examining their development during their initial months in the United States. Focusing on adaptive responses — defined as behavior — and adjustment responses — defined as emotional and cognitive — the study found "an inverse relationship between adaptation and adjustment," suggesting that as these children become more successful at modeling their behavior toward U.S. cultural norms, their emotional adjustment worsens.

The study noted significant progress in three areas of adaptation: improved communication; improved survival skills; and a decrease in feelings of worry. It found no significant change in adjustment, except for one single area: feelings of being different than native-born Americans increased with time spent in this country (MICAS, 1985).

One result of assuming adult responsibilities for these young immigrants is a highly developed sense of self-reliance. A child in San Francisco told the Project the only person she relies on is herself. A young Cambodian girl in Lowell, Massachusetts declared: "I can do any job you give me." For any problems that confronted one Haitian girl, she solved them herself. A Hmong in Minnesota explained: "You have to help yourself everything."

Another result can be a total breakdown under the strain, and in some cases — attempts at suicide. In Los Angeles, Maria Sooy reported three attempts in a population of 100 immigrant students. In Boston, Holly Lockwood reported 11 attempts within the first three months of 1987.

Between self-reliance and self-destruction lies a world of possibilities. More than 2 million young immigrants are now striving to make a new life in a new land. Their chances for survival and for success are being fundamentally shaped by their experiences in this nation's public schools.

When the sun began to shine, we began the shooting. My brother, who was 18, was the first who got hit. I heard him crying for help and I ran to see him. His body was covered with blood. I held him in my arms. He was shot at 7:30 in the morning, but he did not die until 11:15 at night. I knew he was dying and began to cry. He said to me, "You must not fight any more. Try to get yourself to Thailand and then go to America." I stayed in the jungle and fought for three more years, hunting and fishing for food. I met with some of my friends and we decided to get out of danger. When the Pathet Lao patrols stopped us, we fought and kept going. We walked eight days and nights. On our trip we saw lots of people who had died. Some were only bones; some were corpses. Sometimes we had to be on sentry duty all night. Then the leeches would bite our feet, but we did not dare cry out. Sometimes I began to think I would never reach Thailand.

We crossed the Mekong by fastening stalks of bamboo carefully together, and placing them under our armpits to keep afloat. Only half of the people who tried this reached Thailand, often in pitiful condition. The rest either were killed on ambushes, drowned during the crossing of the Mekong, taken prisoner or died from hunger and fatigue.

When I got to Thailand, I was very sad. I wanted to return to my beautiful country, but I told myself that I had had enough torture in my life. I made my decision to go to America and see how it would be. When the International Rescue Committee sponsored the immigrants to come to the United States, I came here.

I Am an Immigrant

Lee Xiong, Hmong

Worldwinds

Boulder High School, Boulder, CO



53



3

The Challenge

54

The Challenge

At public hearings in America's great gateway cities, and during interviews with scores of immigrant parents and their school-age children, the Immigrant Student Project heard many examples of how schools and school systems are struggling to provide for the unique and often urgent needs of recently arrived immigrant students.

Although the Project found many examples of promising school practices and school personnel who are committed to success for immigrant students, overwhelming evidence documented how the nation's public schools are failing to serve newcomers. These failures, so widespread and so graphically described, seem especially devastating because they contrast so starkly with the high hopes held by so many immigrant parents. A Mexican mother from Chicago poignantly asked: "What better heritage do we poor leave to our children, if not education?"

This chapter presents the many problems the Project encountered in schools by looking at: access to schools and school programs; assessment and placement practices; bilingual, multicultural, and special education programs; educational support services; and school climate and culture.

Chapter 5 presents innovative school practices and research which have important implications for effective education of immigrant students.

Access to Schools

The first point properly raised in an examination of immigrant students' access to public schools is whether or not such a right exists.

The U.S. Supreme Court in its ruling in the case of *Plyler v. Doe*, found the state of Texas to have an obligation to educate the children of undocumented immigrants. For the first time, the Court extended the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution to anyone within a state whether citizens or strangers, regardless of immigration status (Hull, 1983).

While acknowledging the complexity of the situation and the far-reaching implications of its decision, the Court clearly expressed its ultimate concern:

¶...the deprivation of education takes an inestimable toll on the social, economic, intellectual, and psychological well-being of the individual, and poses an obstacle to individual achievement. In determining the rationality of the Texas statute, its costs to the innocent children may properly be considered.

The decision ended years of political controversy and litigation during which more than a thousand Texas school districts refused to enroll children who could not produce documentation of legal status. Some districts charged undocumented families tuition of \$1,000 or more for each of their children. Given the limited income of most undocumented families, this fee...barred children from attending school as effectively as the outright ban (Hull, 1983).

The Project found school personnel generally aware that the Supreme Court's decision in *Plyler v. Doe* establishes the right of undocumented students to attend public schools, and to not be challenged when they enroll. However, exercising the right to a free, appropriate public education remains difficult for documented and undocumented immigrant families around the nation. Witnesses at several Project hearings described how children were sporadically discouraged from attending school directly — by illegal pressing for documents to prove legal status — and indirectly — by schools' failure to reach out to immigrant families.

As attorney Peter Roos of the Multicultural Educational Training Advocacy project (META) stated succinctly at the Project's San Francisco hearing:

“One way or another, vigilante principals and people who are misinformed are asking kids for their papers and denying them access to schooling on the basis that they do not have them, or refuse to produce them.”

Supporting the view that many access problems still exist, a witness at the Project's New York City hearing testified:

“Despite the Supreme Court ruling in the famous Texas case ensuring the right of school-age children to attend public schools, and despite the 1979 statement of the [New York City] Chancellor [of Education] on the policy of city schools toward immigrant children, I still get calls on a routine basis...from immigrant families about whether their children have a right to attend public schools.”

Witness after witness described local situations where children were effectively discouraged and, in some cases, prevented from enrolling in public school:

“Tonight I am going to P.S. 12 in Queens to see a child who has not been able to register in school because the parent is an...undocumented worker who lives in a room, and she has not been able to prove that she has a permanent address.”

“In [Cambridge, MA] classrooms, forms were circulated that split kids up by whether they had an alien registration number. That's one of the easier ways of figuring out whether a child is undocumented.”

“If we had to make a scale [in Florida], I guess that the worst offenders would be Broward County, but Palm Beach County also maintains a policy of not admitting children unless they can show that they filed an application for political asylum, or that they are here with some type of permanent status.”

“It took one family a year to get all of the necessary papers. In fact, if it was not for our help, the child would still be at home.”

In a background paper prepared for this study, the Intercultural Development Research Association of San Antonio, Texas reports: “In two school districts, current practice includes the use of teachers to ‘police’ immigrant children crossing the international bridge between Mexico and the United States for the purpose of attending school; children so identified are reported by teachers to immigration officials.”

Generally, however, the Project found that once a school system or official was confronted by community members or advocates, they acknowledged the right of access and changed improper practices. Some of the schools which ultimately complied, however, later developed new practices denying access, creating the need for continued advocacy.

Peter Roos

Attorney, Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy (META), San Francisco, CA

Allan Wernick

Center for Immigrant Rights, Hostos Community College, NY

Haydee Zambrana

Executive Director, Concerned Citizens of Queens, NY

Camilo Perez-Bustillo

Attorney, Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy (META), Cambridge, MA

Ira Kurzban

President-Elect, American Immigration Lawyers Association

Olga Bzdyk

Head Start Program Director, Homestead, FL

The Challenge

Access to the Classroom

Because most immigrant families are poor when they arrive in the United States, they tend to settle in inner-city neighborhoods, frequently the only places they can afford to live and the site of supportive immigrant communities. Consequently, the schools their children attend are often short on resources, poorly staffed, badly maintained, and overcrowded.

Project hearing testimony often focused on the crowded classrooms in which inner-city immigrant students are expected to learn:

Loyda Alfalla
Superintendent, District 6, New York, NY

“Most of our schools are severely crowded... (and) we do not foresee a new school for 36 months. And that is for only 400 students—a drop in the bucket. This will result in another generation of students who will not receive the quality education they so desperately need.”

Dorothy Burke
*Board of Education President, District 17,
 Brooklyn, NY*

“We are fast approaching 30,000 students. We have been overcrowded for years... the space problem impinges on every action we take, and makes the solution to our problems immensely more difficult.”

Elena Wong
*Assistant Superintendent of Instruction,
 Garvey Unified School District,
 Los Angeles, CA*

“Time Magazine has called our school district ‘Ellis Island of the West’ because we have 7,500 students and we are growing almost a classroom a month.”

Nor are smaller communities immune from the failure to provide adequate facilities. Father Frank O’Laughlin, an Irish immigrant, and a member of the Immigrant Student Project’s National Advisory Panel, summed up his frustration with one Florida community:

Father Frank O’Laughlin
*Holy Cross Center,
 Indiantown, FL*

“I have lived in Indiantown for ten years. You despair of a local school system where five grades of Spanish-speaking kids are warehoused in one room with a teacher with a month’s experience.”

Rita Barrish, New York City’s Director of Educational Planning, attributed severe overcrowding to increases in birth and enrollment levels, but primarily to special programs: “Any kind of special program either involves a smaller class, or more teachers, administrators, or supplies... and you need more space per child... it very much applies to the needs of immigrant children.”

Access to a Comprehensible Education

The most common access issue this study encountered was the denial of equal educational opportunities to immigrant students with limited or no use of English. This was not surprising, since bilingual education has become one of the most controversial school issues.

The right to access to a comprehensible education is guaranteed by:

- the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States;
- *Lau v. Nichols* (1974);
- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. Section 2000d, *et seq.*;
- the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C. Section 1703(f) *et seq.*;
- Federal case law (District and Circuit court)—largely interpreting rights created under *Lau*, the implementing regulations and Section 1703(f);
- various bilingual education laws in force at the state level.

A comprehensive discussion of the case law is provided in Appendix D, "Legal Rights of Immigrant Students." In summary, public schools not only have the responsibility to take action to remove language barriers, but to take action which works.

Vito Perrone, of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, related a personal experience to the Project's National Advisory Panel which well-illustrates how many schools are falling well short of established legal standards:

"A year ago, I happened to be present for the first day of school in a district in the Southwest where, to the surprise of the schools, every single child in the kindergarten class had come from Mexico within the last month. So here were the children, and here were the children's mothers, and here was the teacher. The teacher, who didn't speak Spanish, was trying to tell the children to sit down using pantomime, and the result was pandemonium.

"Fortunately, another observer present was from Cuba, and in desperation the classroom teacher asked her, 'Would you tell them to sit down?' The observer then took on the role of the teacher. I wondered how much confidence those mothers felt about what was likely to happen for their children in this setting."

Vito Perrone
Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching,
Princeton, NJ

Limited English Proficiency

Estimates of the number of limited English proficient [LEP] students in the nation's public schools range from 3.5 million to 5.5 million, based upon a definition which includes persons with a non-English language background whose ability to understand, speak, read, and write English is limited enough to deny them the chance to learn in classrooms where instruction is only in English (LaFontaine, 1987). Immigrant students are a large and growing component of the LEP school population.

LaFontaine (1987) estimates that about two-thirds of LEP school-aged children are not receiving the language assistance they need to succeed in their studies. The problem promises to intensify as a 35% increase in LEP students is projected by the year 2000 (Oxford *et al.*, 1980).

Witnesses at Project hearings documented the problem:

"[The demographic] change has brought us from 360,000 LEP students in the state in 1980 to 524,000 in 1985, and we estimate that by 1990, we're talking about over 650,000."

Norman Gold
California Department of Education,
Sacramento, CA

"Right now, we can ascertain that 61,395 of 95,695 eligible students are actually receiving [LEP] services...which means that we have many youngsters who are not receiving mandated services at the present time...the philosophical issue is one that I cannot stress strongly enough, because you meet resistance...getting the program for these youngsters."

Haydee Zambrana
Concerned Citizens of Queens, NY

Even when services are offered for LEP students, the quality is uneven. A discussion of bilingual education programs available to immigrant students follows later in this chapter.

Assessment and Placement

The great immigration wave of the last fifteen years seems charted on a collision course with the school reform movement of the 1980s. On the one hand, the large numbers of young immigrants entering the public schools are producing a student population more diverse than at any time in U.S. history. On the other hand, many recent state and local school reforms have resulted in increasingly standardized school structures, curricula, and teaching and assessment strategies.

Especially complex are the assessment and placement practices which confront immigrant students. Schools use a variety of evaluation processes, not all of which are appropriate, to determine:

- what grade a bilingual child will be placed in;
- what kind of native language instruction and assistance with English acquisition will be provided; and
- whether the child will be educated in the regular classroom, or be placed in a special education program.

Sometimes there is simply no assessment at all, as in a case reported by a Project researcher who accompanied a young Haitian girl enrolling for the first time in a Florida school. After an initial conversation with the school secretary, the child was presented to the school principal outside his office. The principal looked at the girl for a moment, seeming to judge her height and age and announced: "Looks like first grade."

Standardized Testing

One of the most troublesome assessment practices the Project encountered was the lockstep use of standardized tests, which are based on both the English language, and the norms of western schooling and culture.

For immigrant students, high stakes testing—tests which result in automatic educational decisions on the basis of a single test score—holds special pitfalls. Important decisions commonly made on the basis of student test scores include (Haney, Madiaus, Pullin, 1987):

- promotion from one grade to the next;
- awarding of a high school diploma;
- differentiation among types of diplomas;
- assignment to a remedial class;
- assignment to a gifted program.

Dependence upon minimal competency examinations or standardized achievement tests to gauge how successfully a school is teaching a child creates a rigid evaluation system which may snare immigrant students in a time trap. In a paper prepared last year for the Council of Chief State School Officers, Hernan LaFontaine (1987), Superintendent of Schools in Hartford, Connecticut pointed out how time limitations imposed on children with limited English seem especially unfair:

“While we have no expectation that a high school student studying German, French, or Spanish for one hour per day for three years will become fluent and competitive in the use of that language, educators often hold that assumption for LEP children receiving as little as 20 minutes per day of special instruction in English, or assistance from a bilingual aide or tutor.”

There are a number of reasons why even immigrant students who are fluent in English may not score as well on standardized tests as do native English-speaking students, including:

- school failure to instruct non-English speaking students in their native language while they are learning English;
- premature termination of English language acquisition support services;
- cultural bias inherent within the test;
- a lack of student test-taking skills, and anxiety produced by the testing situation.

The Project heard descriptions of the direct and indirect pressures which immigrant students associate with test-taking:

“Many Korean parents are concerned about the low progress scores on standardized tests. They believe that academic achievement at all levels is adversely effected by the language problems. As the result, [their childrens] options [are] restricted to engineering and science, few candidates in education... and liberal arts.”

“Our Haitian students are not used to the way they're being tested here. I go through months and months of trying to explain to them how to 'bubble.' It's even an experience for me to go from a question sheet into a bubbling sheet, to try to bubble the right answer with the right question.”

“[Haitian] students feel embattled by the requirements of not only passing courses, but passing examinations to graduate...and they just don't see how they are to get around it.”

“...if you are going to test somebody, at least you should teach them the things that you are testing them about.”

The emphasis upon student achievement test scores as an accountability measure may also lead to prejudice against immigrant students for lowering the overall scores within a school or a school district. Albert Cortez, Research Director for the Inter-cultural Development Research Association (IDRA), a San Antonio, Texas-based advocacy organization, described the politics which surround test performance of immigrant children in his state:

“The Texas Assessment of Minimal Skills (TEAMS) minimal competency examinations are given to students in grades 1, 3, 5 and 7. With the exception of grade 1, where a Spanish-language test is being pilot-tested, all exams are administered in English.

“School districts whose composite test scores fell below state minimum standards are publicly cited for their ‘failure’ by the State Board of Education. When this occurs within high immigrant enrollment districts, immigrant students are often singled out as the ‘cause’ of the district’s overall TEAMS ranking...it is not uncommon for general community reaction to include pressure on school boards to ‘keep out’ immigrant children who are ‘taking up space and costing us money.’”

Howard Kwon
Bilingual Resource Specialist, Bridger
Junior High School, Los Angeles Unified
School District, CA

Ginette Leger
Teacher, Miami Edison High School,
Miami, FL

Phil Buskirk
Haitian Community Advocate,
Florida City, FL

John Ratliff
Attorney, Legal Services of
Greater Miami, FL

Albert Cortez
IDRA, San Antonio, TX

Vicky Campos
*Bilingual Resource Specialist,
 Orange Unified School District,
 Orange, CA*

Vicky Campos, a bilingual resource specialist at the Orange Unified School District in California, testified on another aspect of standardized grading:

“A majority of these children come into kindergarten below grade level... [and] we are asked to grade according to district procedure... [where] a ‘C’ reflects that they are on grade level.

“I feel, personally, that this is a very unfair situation. I don’t feel that it allows the children... equal opportunity to education. Research tells us that it takes them 5 to 7 years to become proficient in the language... not just orally proficient, but reading and writing proficient. There is no place on the grade card that says they receive an ‘A’ because they speak Vietnamese... or Spanish. There is no place to reflect that they have a second culture and second customs.”

Inflexible Grade Placement

The organization of most public schools by rigid grade levels which every child is expected to complete during a scholastic year results in numerous problems for immigrant children.

The Project gathered extensive evidence that students learning a second language, adjusting to a new culture, recovering from emotional trauma, or who simply have different learning styles, may need more than nine months to complete learning tasks normally associated with a given grade level.

Additionally, the U.S. system of placing students in a grade on the basis of their chronological age, rather than educational experience, may run counter to accepted practice in homeland schools. Placement by chronological age is also a problem for immigrants with gaps in their schooling, sometimes of many years, or for a youngster whose true age is not known because of inaccurate or unavailable information. Another placement problem centers around the fact that many immigrant youths come to America with a dream of attending high school, but find they are too old to attend by U.S. standards.

Reine Leroy, a witness at the Project’s Miami hearing, noted it is difficult to obtain any type of school records from Haiti, and described a child who had completed the 11th grade in Haiti but was placed in the 9th grade in the Dade County, Florida schools because she did not have a report card. “Until they are able to prove what grade they have completed in Haiti, or wherever they are coming from, they are placed in the 9th grade.” Another witness reached the same conclusions:

“I can verify from an outsider’s experience that the maximum grade placement is grade 9 for students who come into the system without any documentation. I find this to be a very problematic policy.”

Witnesses at all of the Project’s public hearings described the frustrations associated with inappropriate educational placements:

“A high percentage of immigrant children reach our schools without having attended schools in their own countries. I haven’t noticed any attempt in any of the schools in the district to create classrooms to accommodate these children. They are dumped from classroom to classroom, from grade to grade, until they reach graduation age, and off they go to high school and eventually become dropouts.”

Daniella Levine
*Attorney, Legal Services of
 Greater Miami, FL*

Daniel Abreu
Teacher, District 6, New York, NY

“A major problem with access to schooling is that [immigrant] students arrive at much older ages than the average [U.S.] high school student...a significant problem for Haitian youth.”

“The large numbers of Southeast Asian students entering high schools present a unique challenge to schools. These students have interests, responsibilities, and needs which differ from those of a typical 15 to 18 year old high school student. However, their level of maturity, their identification with teen culture and their dream of going to an American high school keep them separate from Southeast Asian adults, and prevents them from feeling comfortable attending adult programs.”

Holding Students Back

When inflexible school structures fail to accommodate the varying paces at which students learn, children are labeled as failures and often required to repeat a grade.

This problem is intensified as many recent state and local school reforms now tie grade promotion to a designated cut-off score on a standardized achievement test, or a minimum competency test. Like other poor and minority students (Howe, 1985), young immigrants are at a high risk of failing such barrier tests and, consequently, of having to repeat grades, or of not being able to maintain adequate grades to assure promotion.

The current widespread use of retention as a remedial strategy ignores research which indicates that most students learn better when promoted and given additional assistance, rather than being forced to repeat a grade (Harvard Education Letter, 1986). Additionally, one major study noted that a child who repeats a single grade faces a 30% to 50% increase in the likelihood of dropping out of school. For a child who repeats more than one grade, the chance of dropping out leaps to 90% (Bachman, J.G., et al., 1971).

Advocates and parents are worried that holding immigrant children back will adversely affect their chances for school success. John Ratliff, a Miami legal advocate who regularly works with Haitian immigrant families, told the Project:

“We know that Black children are failing these tests in much larger numbers [than white children], and we know that Black children are being retained in much higher numbers...we are seeing more and more clients coming in now with kids who are being retained in kindergarten, first or second grade.

Ratliff's views were supported by a Haitian parent who testified at the Miami hearing:

“Just before summer school, I called the principal and asked: ‘Is there any way my son can go to summer school...and to sixth grade?’ She told me: ‘He hasn't been able to do anything in nine months, what makes you think he can do anything in six weeks?’ If it wasn't for the attorney, he would still be in fifth grade, not because he didn't pass the tests, but because of misconduct.”

While it is clear the “excellence” movement and a greater reliance on standardized testing have resulted in increasing numbers of poor, minority, and immigrant students being retained in grade, no one knows exactly how many youngsters have this discouraging experience.

Layne St. Louis
Youth Program Coordinator, League of
Haitian Families, Boston, MA

Julie Criscitiello
Social Worker, Metropolitan Indochinese
Children and Adolescent Services
(MICAS), Chelsea, MA

John Ratliff
Attorney, Legal Services of Greater
Miami, FL

Jackie Michel
Haitian Parent, Miami, FL

The Challenge

Despite widespread anecdotal evidence that grade retentions are disproportionately meted out to minority students, the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights biennial Elementary and Secondary School Survey does not collect this data. While some state and local school systems collect such data, it is often not collected by race, and often not made public.

Tracking Practices

Witnesses at public hearings, and immigrant parents and students interviewed by project staff, expressed frustration over the fact that inflexible assessment practices can lead to very low expectations of immigrant students by school personnel. Many young newcomers are placed in low expectation tracks or ability groups, where inadequate educational experiences may result in alienation from school, dropping out, and the impossibility of attaining higher education.

John Ratliff
Attorney, Legal Services of
Greater Miami, FL

Adria Steinberg and Gil Halsted
Interviewers, Washington, DC Case Study:
Unaccompanied Southeast Asian Youth

Diana Rivera La Llave
Case Advocate, La Puente, NY

Robin Willner
Educational Priorities Panel, NY

Sonia Merien-Soboff
Lau Facilitator, Lowell Public Schools, MA

Loretta Huang
Dean of Students, Mark Keppel High
School, Los Angeles, CA

“Immigrant students are clustered along with minority American students in classes which teach the answers to questions on minimum competency exams. So there is very little enrichment, there's very little encouragement for critical thinking or some of the other skills that are so very important for success in later life.”

“Immigrant youth who come to this country unaccompanied by adult family members are often urged to enter vocational training programs so that they may quickly get off government benefits and become self-supporting.”

“Immigrant students [tend to become tracked for failure and geared toward low-level jobs. They are steered away from college prep courses.”

“The high schools have yet to develop a full range of career and occupational program options for LEP students and to cease the current discriminatory tracking of these youngsters.”

“When they first came in from...the refugee camps, and they had limited or no educational background, they were placed in ESL classes. They were looked upon as students who would continue in ESL for many years.”

“In many of our ESL classes, the programs are not challenging. They do not set high expectations to help our students learn. Some students don't speak the language, but they have the abilities to achieve...[but] we just give them the English language, thinking that they are slow.”

Bilingual, Multicultural, and Special Education

Bilingual Education

“...it's in the self-interest of this community [and] it is in the self-interest of this country to recognize that multiple language skills are assets, not threats.”

Generally, bilingual education services are intended to have two goals: to allow a child to achieve competence in English; and to provide transitional instruction in a student's native language to enable the child to meet grade promotion and graduation requirements.

As noted earlier in the chapter, two-thirds of the estimated 3.5 million to 5.5 million LEP children now enrolled in public schools are not receiving the language assistance they need to succeed. The results are predictable:

“The courts have ruled favorably on instruction to respond to children's first language, but language barriers continue just the same and are almost overwhelming. Failure is the result, and is accepted all too easily.”

As noted earlier, immigrant parents interviewed by the Project expressed without exception the strong desire to have their children learn English; most wanted their children to retain their first language and culture, as well. The pressure of such expectations falls squarely on the student, as observed by LaFontaine (1987):

“Limited English proficient children have a formidable task facing them as they enter school. If they are to succeed in school, they must overcome the obstacles caused by poverty and assignment to low-achieving schools, learn to deal successfully with an institution and individuals from a culture other than their own, master all the subjects taught in the regular school curriculum, and become completely proficient in a second language—English.”

While the stories differ from place to place, the theme remains the same: school success is tragically undercut when children do not receive basic instruction in their own language, at least, until they can become fully proficient in academic English; and life-long success is threatened if they are unable to learn English at all.

Many Project witnesses described mediocrity concerning LEP instruction. Others painted pictures of utter confusion, often compounded by insensitivity on the part of school personnel.

“At a Homestead [FL] elementary school, they were testing this little Haitian kid, and they said: ‘Maybe she's deaf? Maybe her mind isn't working?’ Then a speech therapist got her earphones, and little by little, as she understood, the child did everything. The only thing was, she wouldn't talk, just a little murmur.

“I said, ‘Well, maybe it's because she doesn't want to talk until she feels competent.’ They said, ‘Why wouldn't she feel competent? She is in an English as a second language class.’ I said, ‘Well, does it have any Creole-speaking involvement?’ They said, ‘That isn't the point of ESL. The point is to get them to learn English. And there's no reason for her to worry about her accent. She's sitting there with a lot of Spanish kids. They have a funny accent, too.’”

*Sister Rosemarie Cummins
Co-Director, Centro Presente,
Cambridge, MA*

*Vito Perrone
Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching,
Princeton, NJ*

*Phil Buskirk
Haitian Community Advocate,
Florida City, FL*

Sonia Merien-Soboff
Lau Facilitator,
Lowell Public Schools, MA

Hai Tran
Multi-Functional Resource Center,
Department of Bilingual Education,
University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK;
National Advisory Panel

Margarita Alvarez
Assistant Headmaster, Harrington
School, Cambridge, MA

Charles Glenn
Director, Equal Educational Opportunity,
Massachusetts Department of Education,
Boston, MA

Daniella Levine
Attorney, Legal Services of
Greater Miami, FL

Vicky Campos
Bilingual Coordinator, Orange Unified
School District, Orange, CA

“When I first took the position, many children had slipped through the cracks and had been placed in monolingual English classes throughout the city, even though their proficiency in English was limited or none.”

“Having worked with school districts throughout the country for a number of years, I noticed that language minority students are not adequately served or educated. . . I don't think they have access to the academic or education programs that serve other students.”

“I think that when we continue to separate bilingual education from the monolingual programs, and we continue to speak of ‘those groups’ and ‘those kids’ coming into ‘our program’, we are doing a terrible injustice.”

Others described the many ways a rigidly structured system of public education fails to provide the foresight, flexibility and planning to meet the needs of such a diverse group of students:

“As students are mainstreamed from a Cambodian bilingual class, or Laotian class. . . they are dropped — thud! — on the floor, because we have sort of an all or nothing thing, where either they're in a full-time bilingual program, or they get no support at all.”

“There is currently a three-year maximum for students' participation in bilingual programs. Well. . . that's totally nonsensical. Obviously, some students will need less bilingual education, and some will need more.”

“We are very far behind when it comes to the regular classroom teachers. . . [they] need to know that it takes five to seven years to become proficient in a language. . . these children will take time.”

The challenge to immigrant students does not end with their successful command of English. Like other LEP students, they face continued obstacles when entering the scholastic mainstream. LaFontaine (1987) concludes:

“Programs which quickly transition children to an all-English curriculum in the regular classroom, but then create situations where former LEP students are overrepresented in special education and underrepresented in gifted and talented programs, are doing a disservice to their students. When language-minority children are no longer limited in English proficiency, we should expect to find them distributed in about the same pattern as other similarly-situated children.”

Multicultural Education

“Before we educate the immigrant children, it seems to me that we have to educate ourselves—and particularly our educators.”

Of the many ways in which U.S. public schools have been caught unprepared to cope with the enormous challenges presented by their rapidly diversifying student populations, that unpreparedness is most evident in the lack of adequate multicultural education programs.

The Project found two basic dimensions to the lack of multicultural education in most schools:

- teachers and other school personnel do not understand the cultures of the children they teach;
- when multicultural education is not an integral part of school curriculum, it cannot help to prevent conflict between native-born and immigrant students, or nurture the development of positive self-concepts for young newcomers.

The cost of this failure today is painful, chronic misunderstanding among members of many school communities. If this failure continues, tomorrow's cost is certain to be this same misunderstanding amplified and carried abroad to burden our increasingly diverse society.

One witness who testified at the Project's New York hearings was most eloquent as he urged educators to focus upon the positive contributions immigrant children bring to the schools they attend.

“Immigrants bring problems to the society and to the schools, but they also bring opportunities. When we think of immigrants...we should think primarily in terms of vitality, of dynamism, of renewal...immigrants obviously bring into the schools large degrees of cultural diversity, and schools would be poorer were it not for that.

“...immigrant children bring...maturity into the schools. I think that is positive...and is attainable by no other means. They are often the guides to their parents. They adjust faster; they translate for their parents, they teach their parents about culture in the United States. They are forced to mature more quickly, to work harder in this society. That maturity and that hard work is a positive [force] in the schools, and one that we should encourage.”

Immigrant parents and students, as well as educators and advocates, are deeply concerned by the pain and confusion which results when students experience daily cultural insensitivity from school staff. A young man from the Dominican Republic described his experiences in a New York City public school:

“When I entered the New York City school system, I came upon a world unknown to me, a language that I did not understand, and a school administration which made ugly faces at me every time that I spoke Spanish. Stereotyping and racial comments were a daily routine. Bilingual students were made to feel inferior and often portrayed as slow and stupid. Many teachers referred to us as animals.

“Believe me, maintaining a half-decent image of yourself wasn't an easy thing...I feel that I had enough strength of character to withstand the many school personnel who tried to destroy my motivation. But many of my classmates didn't make it.”

Rudolph Vecoli
Director, Immigration History Research
Center, University of Minnesota,
St. Paul, MN

Gary Rubin
Director of Programs,
American Jewish Committee, NY

Giovanni Lopez
Paraprofessional, PS 198, New York, NY

The Challenge

May Ying Chen
Legal Assistant, ILGWT Immigration
Project, New York, NY

Jackie Goldberg
Board of Education, Los Angeles Unified
School District, Los Angeles, CA

Dorothy Cordova
Demonstration Project for Asian
Americans, Seattle, WA
National Advisory Panel

Sara Hudelson
Lau Center, University of Miami, FL

Margarita Alvarez
Assistant Headmaster,
Harrington School, Cambridge, MA

Laurie Olsen
California Tomorrow, San Francisco, CA
National Advisory Panel

Judy Levy-Sender
Teacher, Newcomer High School,
San Francisco, CA

Jo Marcel
Catholic Charities Refugee Resettlement
Program, Los Angeles, CA

The Project also heard a great variety of pleas for stronger, better-integrated multicultural curricula and classroom experiences for all students in U.S. public schools.

"There must be a stronger Asian component in multicultural education in order to combat stereotypes of Asians in schools and to reinforce a better self-image among Asian children. Even today, in New York City, average school children learn nothing about the culture, role and contributions of Asians in America. They are lucky to learn something about Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines other than the bombing of Pearl Harbor."

"Multicultural education has got to stop being, you know, one food, two heroes and three holidays, because when you go in and talk to the ethnic groups that you are supposedly representing, they tell you they haven't eaten that food in a hundred years, and those aren't even the heroes...[they say] 'Why are you talking about them anyway?'"

"We always learned European history. Everything was European-oriented. People like me had no part. We were always on the outside looking in. What we're trying to do now is to make our kids feel that they are part of this whole educational system. Why isn't there history of people like us coming to this country? Why aren't there reference books in libraries so that kids can do research on their own, so they can have a sense of worth?"

"Many [Haitian students] are in mainstream programs, and we have a problem with sensitizing mainstream teachers to the culture, to the language backgrounds, to the various experiences that [they] have had before they come to our schools."

"If we continue to accept multicultural education—or the roles that the new immigrant groups are playing in this country today—as part of an addendum...it does not get the importance that it merits. We need to...deal with publishing companies to emphasize to them that it needs to be incorporated as part of [the] books...we are going to be using in our system."

Sometimes parts of the school program which are taken very much for granted by U.S.-born students cause consternation to a specific group of immigrant students. Project interviews with Southeast Asian students for example, revealed that gym classes are particularly problematical for them. Male and female students described their discomfort at having to undress and dress for gym, and their worries about their relationships with gym teachers.

Others offered insights into cultural perspectives which can affect what goes on in classrooms without teachers or fellow students even being aware that it is happening.

"In Galileo High School, San Francisco, there is a group of [Southeast Asian] students who...got very excited about getting a commission from the history department to do a presentation about their countries and their journeys to the U.S. [but] despaired when they...couldn't find a map that didn't cut the Pacific Ocean down the middle...they became very discouraged and gave up on their presentation."

"I remember teaching a geography spelling lesson to mostly Cambodian youngsters and using a 'hangman' lesson for spelling—all of you probably remember 'hangman'?—and having this youngster say to me, 'You know, that's how my parents died.' That was my coming of age as a teacher."

"Children have to do homework and they need to ask a lot of information...[immigrant parents] don't have that kind of educational background...[but] due to the culture, [they] are too proud [and say], 'Hey, I'm the father, I have to know.' So he may come up with a different thing that he thinks, as a father: 'This is right.' Actually, it is wrong."

Elena Wong, Assistant Superintendent of the Garvey School District and a witness at the Los Angeles hearing, identified the bottom line reason why multicultural education should be required by the U.S. public schools of today and tomorrow:

"We need to build tolerance, negotiation, compromise, all leading to a better school for the students we serve."

Special Education: In-School Deportation

In a 1985 NCAS study, *Barriers to Excellence: Our Children at Risk*, it was reported that special education can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, some schools fail to provide appropriate special education services for all children who need them. On the other hand, many schools place large numbers of racial and language minority students with learning difficulties into categorical programs for the mildly disabled when, in fact, they are not handicapped.

The relationship between bilingualism and special education has been problematic since the turn of the century. As noted by Miller (1916), special classes have frequently served as an easy means of disposing of a (non-English speaking) pupil who, through no fault of his own, is an unsatisfactory member of a regular class.

Canadian researcher James Cummins (1984) acknowledges that disproportionate numbers of immigrant and language minority students have been 'deported' into special education classes and vocational streams in many countries. Although the situation has recently improved somewhat, U.S. schools are not immune from this practice (NCAS, 1987).

When an immigrant child does poorly in school, it is difficult to sort out the cause, with possible origins in limited language proficiency, cultural orientation, unfamiliarity with educational institutions or, perhaps, a handicapping condition.

Aware that special education referrals have climbed steeply in the wake of the school reform movement (Council of the Great City School, 1987), and that minority students are overrepresented in special education classes (NCAS, 1987), some special education administrators worry that immigrant students are at increased risk for inappropriate special education placement. W. Alan Coulter spoke with Project staff about the need to protect immigrant children against special education misclassification:

"In the New Orleans public schools, the tendency of teachers to quickly refer these children for special education consideration, the lack of linguistically and culturally appropriate assessment instruments for the students...who speak languages other than English and Spanish, and our very limited understanding of their cultures make us very reluctant to place a newly-arrived immigrant student who does not present a physical handicap into special education.

"On the other hand, these children have a high rate of physical problems. We screen immigrant children very carefully for undetected vision and hearing loss, and other physical health problems. Understandably, lots of emotional problems, including depression, exist in the wake of the trauma some of these students have experienced. When that is the case, children need mental health services, not placement in a class for the seriously emotionally disturbed."

W. Alan Coulter
Associate Director for Support
and Appraisal Services,
New Orleans Public Schools

The Challenge

Daniella Levine
Attorney, Legal Services of
Greater Miami, FL

Prem Suksawat
Bilingual School Psychologist,
Lowell Public Schools, MA

Reine Leroy
Intergroup Relations Representative,
Dade County Public Schools, FL

Project hearing witnesses documented how limited English proficiency and cultural differences can result in inappropriate placements:

“One child we represented was epileptic, and had difficulties with concentration, possibly may have been learning disabled...but she was tracked into educably mentally handicapped classes for slow learners, for the retarded, because of her inability to communicate her real academic skill level in her own language.”

“Right now, as a [Southeast Asian] school psychologist I have...at least 93 referrals from the school system...I am not too sure what's going on with the children...even though the children are normal...they don't have the cultural background, and [school personnel] cannot communicate with the children because of this language handicap, so they refer them to me.”

“Teachers thought that these kids were dumb, that they could not learn...[in reality] their problem could have been that they had never gone to school, or they were placed in sixth grade when they only completed first grade...there were some schools that had mostly Haitian kids in their special education classes.”

The Project was unable to find accurate data measuring the degree to which immigrant children experience special education misclassification. A witness at the Project's New York hearing, Eddy Bayardelle, Director of the Center for Language Minority Education at Bank Street College, NY noted:

“...there is nothing [in terms of data] available that says that immigrant kids, per se, are the ones in special education, but if you begin to look at the ethnic breakdown of the city, and look at the kids who are in special education, most of them are minority kids. If you begin to look at language minority students, you will find a high percentage there.”

For children whose physical or learning disabilities require special attention, careful and early assessment is essential, especially for immigrant students who can present schools with new and complex problems. A Massachusetts hearing witness told of Cambodian children with deafness caused by torture in their homeland. If not properly diagnosed, this disability could easily have been misunderstood, resulting in misclassification of the students.

Handicapped immigrant children often do not get the services they need. Peter Roos, an attorney with California Rural Legal Assistance and a member of the Project's National Advisory Panel, observed:

“If in addition to being limited in his English proficiency, that child is also handicapped, [then] that child is really doubly handicapped because he is very unlikely to get any sort of instruction or assistance in his own language.”

A recent study by Advocates for Children of New York highlights the inferior treatment which bilingual children experience when they encounter the special education system. The study found that while only 34% of regular special education initial evaluations of students were completed within the 30 days required by law, an even lower 16% of bilingual initial evaluations were completed within that same time period.

A witness at the Project's New York hearing supported these findings:

“Once somebody does pick up on the fact that the child may be in need of special education, it is normally months, sometimes even years, before the child is evaluated in his or her language, if that happens at all, to determine whether or not they must be placed in special education...even when the evaluation is conducted, the chances of it being an appropriate evaluation are almost nil.”

Roger Juan Maldonado
Attorney, South Brooklyn
Legal Services, NY

A Burmese mother described her frustrations in attempting to get services for her daughter, Tu Tu, from the New York City public schools.

“There was a gap of three months, March to May, when the COH [Committee on the Handicapped] did not get in touch with me. When I called them this time, I was informed that I should try and locate an individual or agency to do the evaluation in Burmese. At the same time, the COH sent me the Nickerson letter, together with a list of recognized agencies. I contacted a number of these agencies, but without any success.

“Around this time, also, I suggested that I might be allowed to interpret for my daughter. This suggestion they absolutely refused to entertain. It was also then that they informed me that it was incumbent upon me to find a Burmese-speaking psychologist.”

An education advocate continued the story of the struggle to gain appropriate educational services for this student:

“It was only after our intervention that things moved quickly. I believe that if we didn’t intervene... Tu Tu would still be at home... she has a lot of catching up to do. She’s been in school a short time, and has done very well... [her first day] was an overwhelming experience, even for me. The Committee on the Handicapped had not sent Tu Tu’s packet; therefore, the OTC was not prepared for her, had no records, and knew nothing about her.”

It is also difficult to assure that immigrant children who are referred and evaluated for special education benefit from the strong parent participation in decision-making mandated by the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (P.L. 94-142). Sister Lumina, a witness at the Project’s Boston hearing, asked:

“If you can’t put an American child in a special needs program without the consent of the parents, how can you put a refugee child in any kind of special program without the consent of the parents?”

Another witness talked about the special cultural dimensions of Haitian children being referred to special education classes:

“Placing Haitian children who are not seriously or severely impaired in segregated programs is in conflict with Haitian culture: not because there is an inability on the part of parents to accept that their children may have problems, but because it is felt that these problems can be remedied or compensated for. The Haitian parent would rather have, and be proud of, a child who has good academic skills, but in the event that this is not the case, the parent would like to see that other skills be encouraged and nurtured. In this way, the child can still become a productive and self-sufficient member of society.”

Nu Nu Win

Burmese Parent, NY

Janice Silber

Case Advocate, Advocates for Children of New York, NY

Maryse Roumain

Director, Center for Haitian Child Development, City College of New York, NY

Staffing and Support Services

The Need for Adequate Staff

The Project found that one of the most serious barriers to equal opportunity for educational excellence for immigrant students is a lack of school personnel who are:

- equipped with language and other skills needed to teach these students effectively;
- sensitive and well-informed about different cultures;
- reflective of the ethnic and cultural diversity apparent in the student population, so they can serve as guides and role models; and
- committed to the school success of immigrant children.

Of these needs, the first is particularly pressing. Burgeoning enrollments of immigrant students have contributed to acute shortages of bilingual teachers.

A representative of the California Assembly's Office of Research testified at the Project's San Francisco hearing:

*Patricia Gandara
Assembly Office of Research,
Sacramento, CA*

"[The Assembly Office of Research] projects a need for nearly 23,000 teachers to serve more than 650,000 LEP students by 1990. Yet about 12,000 teachers are expected to be available, given our current rate of training. This represents a shortfall of nearly half of the projected demand.

"[The AOR] estimates conservatively that we are currently losing about one-fourth of our highly trained bilingual teachers to other better paying, less stressful jobs, both inside and outside of the schools, in every five year period."

School districts sometimes experience serious staffing problems because large numbers of immigrant students appear suddenly in local communities, placing a severe strain on schools charged with responsibility for educating their children.

Harold Reynolds, Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, described the difficulty of finding appropriate staff for one school district in his state:

*Harold Reynolds
Massachusetts Commissioner
of Education, Boston, MA*

"There were 100 students registered that were unexpected each day of the first five days, and then the next week, a couple of hundred more. Where do you find teachers to teach 700 additional people? Twenty-eight to thirty teachers who can deal with children who speak predominantly a Southeast Asian language?"

Staffing shortages also occur because state and local education agencies have failed to deal effectively with long-standing problems. Many witnesses described such situations.

*Sam Pan Wootirat
Teacher, Boston English High School, MA*

"I have been involved in the Laotian bilingual program in the city of Boston for five and a half years. So far, the city has yet to provide us with a bilingual Laotian school counselor."

*Maria Nguyen
Guidance Counselor, Brighton High
School, MA*

"...too often...Vietnamese teachers are trained on the job. We hired them, and they trained themselves on the job."

*Yva Cantave
Parent, NY*

"I encountered at P.S. 181...a bilingual class for Haitian children...run by a monolingual teacher who doesn't even speak French fluently."

While representatives of many state and local education agencies described recruitment efforts intended to reduce teacher shortages, many of these same efforts were criticized by witnesses unsatisfied with efforts to recruit, hire, and retain teachers and other school staff who are equipped to cope with the enormous challenges presented by immigrant students:

"...the Division of Special Education [and] the Board of Education have been well aware of the acute shortage of bilingual clinicians to evaluate children, and bilingual teachers to service children who have been recommended for placement in the bilingual special education program. To date, their efforts at recruitment have been almost totally unsuccessful."

*Roger Juan Maldonado
Director, Housing Law Unit,
Brooklyn Legal Services, NY*

"None of the schools has a Haitian administrator. As a matter of fact, there is only one Haitian administrator in the whole of Dade County...as it is right now; they do not go out of their way to hire Haitian staff because the Haitian kids are classified as 'Black', and if they have their 20% Black staff, they don't need Haitian staff."

*Reine Leroy
Intergroup Relations Representative,
Dade County Public Schools, FL*

Despite evidence that the shortage of bilingual teachers is both real and widespread, barriers stand in the way of foreign-born and educated teachers, now living in this country:

"...changes in staffing are very difficult and nearly impossible because of the current laws related to tenure and the current regulations regarding the elimination of incompetent staff, or the moving around of staff. There are a lot of constraints on school districts [that] find themselves needing additional staff to work with immigrant students."

*Melinda Melendez
Association of California School
Administrators, Sacramento, CA*

One major barrier is teacher certification. Sara Hudelson, a member of the staff of the University of Miami's National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center (NODAC), a Lau Center, notes:

"People who may have come to this country with initial degrees from institutions outside the U.S...sometimes have trouble coping with certification regulations. We have spoken to Haitians who report having a lot of trouble getting access to university systems. Some...have problems with getting...their educational records back in Haiti."

Lack of Support Services

"It is very critical for school people to understand that different children from different cultures display problems in different ways."

*Leeland Yee
Psychologist, Oakland Public Schools, CA*

In 1986, a special commission named by the College Board and chaired by former U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II—a member of the Immigrant Student Project's National Advisory Panel—undertook an intensive study of guidance and counseling services in U.S. schools. In a preliminary report entitled *Keeping the Options Open*, the Commission observed:

"Many school reforms have been proposed and enacted in the past few years in the name of achieving excellence in the public schools. While this reform movement has successfully returned public education to the national agenda, it has brought neither increased attention to, nor support for, guidance and counseling in the schools. In fact, the topic of guidance and counseling has largely been ignored. We think this is an unfortunate omission with serious consequences for children."

The Challenge

Additionally, the Commission found that:

- adequate counseling and guidance services are essential for all students, particularly for those who suffer disadvantages from poverty, discrimination and family stress or disruption;
- counseling as a profession is in trouble, with such problems as assignments which make inadequate use of skills, drastically rising student to counselor ratios, and a low priority assigned to maintaining counseling services during fiscal difficulties;
- provisions for guidance and counseling follow an all too well-established pattern in the distribution of other public services: those with the least at home often get the least help from public institutions and programs.

Schools with large enrollments of immigrant students find they must stretch their capacities, often to their limits, in order to avert outright disaster — never mind to meet the less pressing non-instructional needs of these children for guidance and other support services. These problems are exacerbated in schools with large immigrant student populations because their needs are often more complex and urgent, and because cultural differences can make trusting difficult, leaving counselors, nurses and other support staff — and other students — at a loss to know what to do.

The Project found that schools rarely have enough bilingual counselors to cope with the enormous burdens some immigrant students bring to school — struggles to adjust to new cultures and languages, loneliness, depression, grief, academic difficulties and hopeful dreams that sometimes turn to despair as students experience continued poverty in their new country and as limitations to their dreams become increasingly apparent. The Project heard many examples of how schools must come to terms with these new and different roles.

One Project staff member arrived at the guidance department of a California school to find the waiting room filled with weeping female students. When the school counselor appeared, it was suggested she might want to attend to the students before beginning the scheduled meeting. The counselor responded with distress that she was unable to help the girls as they were homesick and wanted to go back to Southeast Asia.

Guidance personnel at a Boston High School expressed frustration over a repeated pattern of behavior among depressed immigrant students. An unsigned note threatening suicide would be periodically found on a counselor's desk. In response, the guidance staff would abandon daily tasks to search frantically among immigrant students in order to learn who had written it.

A witness at the Boston hearing described the dimensions of the problem:

"...my first concern is the lack of access to existing services...provided by guidance counselors, such as course scheduling, career and educational counseling, personal counseling, information and referral to school and community resources. They also include information and counsel provided informally by teachers and at large school assemblies, and announcements made over school loudspeakers.

"...a second [concern] is the special guidance needs of this student population. Students entering our school system for the first time need an orientation to the school's resources, to the school's academic requirements, to the procedures, to standards of behavior, to disciplinary measures, to extracurricular activities if they exist, and so on. They need to feel welcome, they need to feel supported as they adjust to American school life."

Julie Christiello
Metropolitan Indochinese Children and
Adolescent Services, Chelsea, MA

The Project heard much about the great need of immigrant students for access to comprehensible counseling services. On the other hand, the acute shortage of bilingual and culturally sensitive counselors was also documented. Other witnesses shared the sentiments of Dr. Archer Dong, principal of P.S. 131 in New York City when he exclaimed: "We have two guidance counselors to 1,530 students...that's ridiculous!"

Vocational and college counseling are also issues for immigrant students. Some students interviewed, especially unaccompanied minor males from Southeast Asia, related abysmally low expectations on the part of school counselors who pushed them into vocational education programs in order to ensure they would become self-supporting as quickly as possible.

Refugee students, who have access to student financial assistance, need help in understanding the options open to them in the U.S. system of post-secondary education. Central American and other undocumented students and parents who cannot afford college and are not eligible for student financial aid need help in developing acceptable vocational options until fairer policies are formulated.

School Climate

Immigrant children and youth, many of whom have survived war, political oppression, economic deprivation, and the turmoil of a difficult journey to a new land, find their problems are not over when they enter American public schools. If they come to schools seeking a social safe haven, a place to recapture some of a lost childhood, and a place to begin building for a better future, they are often bitterly disappointed.

It was distressing to hear so many young newcomers describe the hatred, prejudice and violence which too often awaits them in U.S. schools. Young immigrants told the Project at length about the insensitivity — often bordering on outright racism — directed toward them by American students, and sometimes by teachers. "What have we done to be treated this way?" they asked, over and over again.

A Need for Leadership

Intergroup and intergenerational conflicts have long been a sad part of American life. They can be found in the community, and because schools are a microcosm of the larger community, they can be found in schools.

Schools have the power to shape the environments they present to students and staff. Too often, the Project found, they fail to carry out their share of the responsibility for assuring that all students are treated respectfully by peers and school staff. This is particularly necessary when students have differences of physical appearance, language, culture, and learning style. Without strong adult leadership, it is unlikely that a supportive social environment will emerge in the schools.

Lourdes Sariol, Director of the Family Services Program at Concilio Hispano in Cambridge, Massachusetts, well-described the kind of leadership which can prevent such a failure:

The Challenge

"I think that if you have a school committee, a school board, that is committed to making sure that the quality of education and that the social and the emotional needs of its students and its community are met, then when you hire people and you have that message across, [then] teachers who aren't interested in that, or school personnel who are just interested in going and teaching one set of kids, will not come to your school department... monitoring can't just be the responsibility of teachers."

Absent such a climate, everyone suffers as competing groups are pitted against each other; and immigrant students are likely to suffer the most, as expressed by Daniel Abreu, a teacher at LS 143 in New York City:

"In general, the reception given to immigrant children was so negative and hostile that many of them were so turned off to their new society that they were never able to learn how to speak English. Bilingual students were called animals, garbage, jerks, idiots by many teachers...and this unprofessional and inhumane treatment of children was condoned by the administration."

Harassment in School

The Project found immigrant students in every part of the country facing harassment and intergroup tensions as part of their daily school experience:

"A lot of American kids make fun of immigrant kids. They say: 'Go back to your own country.' There are fights between Mexican and Asian students."

"A white guy was calling us names, like 'Cambodian'—very derogatory names. We beat him up."

"I like school, but I don't like how other American students call me names. I don't like it when the Americans say: 'You dumb Haitian, go back to Haiti.'"

"Mexicans are called 'beaners.' They say we live in garbage cans."

"We have had cases where boys have been taunted, and they decide [to]...stay out of school."

"I like schools here. But wish there would be more friendship among immigrant students and American students."

The Project also heard testimony documenting physical confrontations between students, sometimes between immigrants and native-born youngsters, and sometimes between immigrant groups themselves:

"I had one fight at school—the first time I ever got blood—with a Black kid who didn't like Asian and Chinese kids. They were waiting for me in PE. (gym class)...to get money from me. They think I'm Chinese. They say: 'Hey, Chinese boy, give me your money...'"

"Our older son has been beaten up. They strangle him with bike chains, if he would not give them money."

"Last month, one Black girl slashed two Cambodian girls with a tile cutter. Each one needed 25 stitches on her face."

Female Vietnamese Student
San Francisco, CA

Male Filipino Student
Seattle, WA

Haitian Student
Cambridge, MA

Mexican Student
San Diego, CA

Luis Miranda
Director of Research, NACME, NY

Vietnamese Student
Cambridge, MA

Male Vietnamese Student
Washington, DC

Mexican Mother
Tucson, AZ

Cambodian Father
Philadelphia, PA

Haitian students find themselves in particularly difficult circumstances. Viewed as Black by White students, they suffer from discrimination on the basis of their race. Viewed as "foreigners" by Black students, they are frequently rejected on the basis of their culture:

"The Black American students challenge him to fight...he retaliates by returning a kick, or a push. If he doesn't do anything, they call him names."

Such experiences leave their mark:

"I am not for this school, and this school is not for me. There are too many Black kids there."

"We have Haitian students still afraid of being known as Haitians, because in the school system, it is so insulting. What has been done to our kids in Miami can be seen through the suicide of Fred Eugene, who killed himself a few years ago because he was so afraid of being known as Haitian, and through the mental suicide that I see in the public schools here."

When school climate is negative, it takes a toll on teachers as well as students. One frustrated Arizona secondary teacher told Project Field Coordinator Sara Garcia: "Sometimes I wish that I could take the parents [of immigrant students] into a room, close the door and tell them: 'Listen, you'd better prepare yourself because out there [in the high school] all hell has broken loose.'"

Reflecting upon a recent study of immigrant students in California public schools which she directed for California Tomorrow, Laurie Olsen told fellow members of the Project's National Advisory Panel:

"The social relationships among and between social groups at the high school level (place) immigrant students at the very bottom of the ranking order. In the interviews which we conducted with students throughout the state, that has been the most upsetting and horrifying aspect of the schooling experience for students who come into the middle and high schools as immigrants.

"There is a tremendous amount of social tension, of problems between groups, and it is very painful...as a society, we need to take some responsibility for doing something about the attitudes of American students."

School Discipline

Immigrant children in the U.S. enter an educational system which has for many years tolerated seriously disproportionate suspension, expulsion, and corporal punishment of minority students. Current disciplinary strategies also have important negative side-effects. Suspensions which force students to miss days of school undercut the motivation and academic achievement of all students (Children's Defense Fund, 1975; First and Mizell, 1980). When children are repeatedly—sometimes arbitrarily—excluded from school, both their grades and their sense of school as a place which cares for them, are often diminished.

The United States Office for Civil Rights 1986 Elementary and Secondary School Survey, the most recent federal data on discipline in the public schools, shows that during the 1985–86 school year, an approximate 1.9 million U.S. public school students were suspended from school.

*Mother of Male Haitian Student
New York City, NY*

*Male Haitian Student
Miami, FL*

*Reine Levy
Intergroup Relations Representative,
Dade County Public Schools, FL*

The Challenge

These data reveal that a Black student is more than twice as likely to be suspended as a White student, and Hispanic students also receive a highly disproportionate number of suspensions. Minority children also receive substantially more than their share of corporal punishment (NCAS, 1987).

An analysis of Project interviews with immigrant families showed that 34% of Hispanics reported disciplinary problems at school.

Racially discriminatory patterns in school discipline have been documented since the Office of Civil Rights first conducted its Elementary and Secondary School Survey. Although data are not collected by the government in a way which allows analysts to separate out the experiences, for example, of native-born Black students from Haitian students, or of native-born Hispanics from newly arrived Hispanics, it is reasonable to assume that immigrant children, who are most often members of a racial minority, are also at risk for discriminatory disciplinary treatment, as expressed by one witness:

"I think that when an immigrant child misbehaves in school...the child sometimes is dealt with much more harshly than an American student. The expectation is, they should behave. I think that there is also an undercurrent of 'Listen, you are an immigrant! You should be thankful that we are even educating you.'"

Others described the ways a lack of cultural understanding often puts immigrant children at risk for inappropriate disciplinary action:

"Teachers have absolutely no knowledge, not only of the language, but about the culture of the children that they are working with...Haitian children...are very physical. We express...we use our hands...we talk. This doesn't mean that we are creating a scene or disrupting. If the child wants to speak, instead of saying: 'Hi, Johnny,' he will touch the other child automatically. In the classroom, if the teacher said you were supposed to be quiet, or 'You don't move,' it quickly turns into a discipline thing. They don't understand that we use a lot of body language."

Sometimes the struggles of non-English-speaking immigrant students simply to understand what is happening in the classroom results in their being viewed as "disruptive" by adults. Daniella Levine, a Miami education advocate, noted that many Creole or Spanish-speaking students have been disciplined for speaking during class as they were trying to get instructions translated.

In the extreme, cultural clashes in the classroom can lead to conflicts between teachers and students which result in highly inappropriate disciplinary action, as illustrated by one Florida case where an 11-year-old Haitian girl was physically punished for speaking her native language of Creole in a bilingual education class. After complaining in Creole about a stomach ache, the youngster was told by her teacher that she was not supposed to speak Creole in school, and was sent to the principal's office for punishment. The incident found its way into local newspapers because the young girl's arm was broken when she was paddled by the school principal.

Youth Gangs

Young newcomers under extreme pressure from their American peers in the community or in school may become extremely defensive and lash out toward others. As noted earlier, some of the most disaffected join youth gangs.

Olga Bzdyk
Director, Head Start Program,
Homestead, FL

Cambodians and Vietnamese seem to have particular problems, usually with Hispanic and Black students. Carol Murphy, the principal of the largest elementary school in Massachusetts, found Cambodian and Puerto Rican children carrying knives in school to "defend" themselves.

Cal Nguyen, a Vietnamese refugee who works with the Santa Clara (CA) Police Department, told the Project that gang relationships and activity go well beyond the boundaries of the school yard. Some gang fights are so well organized that youngsters make phone calls to groups at other schools to arrange places to meet. Immigrant parents are aware of the racial conflicts. In interviews, several said they would like security officers posted at their children's schools.

Confronted with minority youth gangs, school systems can react in ways which further underscore the climate of discriminatory discipline:

☛ There is a presumption with Filipino students, particularly the males, that they are gang members. This colors the way the administrators and staff at the school approach or make their decisions to discipline or penalize the students.

"...one case example is that of Troy S., a freshman at the school who was an A and B student...Troy was accused of threatening another student, and of gang activity. Troy's story is that he was being harassed at the school by another student, who confronted him physically. They exchanged words, but no fight took place...the Assistant Principal felt that Troy was involved in gang activity and gave him a three days suspension. However, (it was found) through investigation that this group of kids that Troy had been associating with were part of the Freshman Council working on school activities.

"...the school weighs heavily on students they feel are associated with gangs. The identification they utilize when referring to gangs is students in groups, students wearing similar clothing, students wearing similar hairstyles. As a result, the school can point out any group who are not gang-related, and label them as a gang."

Don Kao, a counselor for Project Reach, and a witness at the Project's New York City Hearing, noted:

☛ Unfortunately, the questions that get asked are: 'Why do young people join gangs?' 'What attracts kids to become gang-involved?' We would like to see some different questions asked. For example, 'Why are they not staying in school?' 'Why aren't the schools able to compete with what is outside?'

INS In Public Schools

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) administers immigration laws to assist those who wish to immigrate to this country, or those already here who wish to remain. It has a legitimate role in the protection of U.S. national borders if accomplished in a legal manner.

Several Project hearing witnesses, however, described INS personnel coming into classrooms in search of undocumented students, or detaining students in hopes of identifying their parents as undocumented aliens when they came forward.

☛ During 1981 to 1983, we heard reports that the Immigration and Naturalization Service actually came into Rindge and Latin High School [Cambridge, MA] looking for undocumented students."

Maria Borje
Filipino Immigration Service,
Freemont, CA

Don Kao
Project Reach, New York, NY

Camilo Perez-Bustillo
Attorney, Multicultural Education
Training and Advocacy (META),
Cambridge, MA

The Challenge

Audrey Yamagata-Noji
Commissioner, Orange County Human
Relations, CA

"Our concern is that there appears to be a pattern developing with INS focusing their attention around school sites. Last spring, in the city of Westminster, the Oakland Elementary school was a site for an immigration raid. Approximately 10 parents were arrested [as]...they were taking their children there...of course, after that...many went down and pulled their children out of school for several weeks."

Gilberto Cardenas
Tomas Rivera Center, San Diego, CA

"...[INS harassment] also effects the drop-out rate...you may have a child who's born in the United States, whose father is undocumented [but] the mother is here legally, born in the U.S. The INS apprehends the father, and the family moves. They're pulled out of school for six months and re-enter again. So, there is already a question of delayed education. And then, later on, they may permanently drop out of school because they may never be able to catch up."

When questioned about what constitutes an appropriate role for public schools in regard to INS enforcement activities, Nathan Quinones, then Chancellor of the New York City public schools, and a member of the Project's New York Hearing panel, responded:

Nathan Quinones
Chancellor, New York City
Public Schools, New York, NY

"I think that we have to give a clear message that we are not arms of enforcing this law [The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986]...we can well be duped into the conclusion (that we should) because it is the law, and we have to uphold it...but we are not the enactors of it and we are not the agents of the federal government in carrying it out."

School Success — and Failure

Female Vietnamese Student
Philadelphia, PA

"I work hard to be successful. Then I can help my family and the country. It is very important."

The Project was very much impressed by the tenacity and determination which so many immigrant students displayed as they coped with adverse circumstances in schools. Many fully understand the critical relationship between a good education and a successful adult life in this country.

Project interviews showed 46% of immigrant students reporting one to two hours of homework a night, 20% reporting more than two hours a night, and 25% of Southeast Asians reporting more than three hours a night. This is a remarkable contrast to the level reported by average native-born students of a few hours each week.

While some immigrant students progress successfully through U.S. public schools, a majority fail to do so. Monica Gordon, a witness at the Project's New York Hearing, offered one reason for these two distinct outcomes:

Monica Gordon
Consultant, Caribbean Research Center,
Medgar Evers College, NY

"The children who successfully negotiate the system tend to be those who have had a good enough background in their home countries...those who enter the system at an early stage here are the ones who are failing."

But even those students who do succeed described enormous tolls of the stress and frustration which accompany their success.

Many young people spoke of their deferred dreams of a college education with great wistfulness. Luisa Acosta, an immigrant from the Dominican Republic, said at the New York hearing:

“Graduating from high school was a culminating experience for me. But I also had to endure the pain of seeing some of my classmates off to college, and I could not, due to my legal status in this country. I am now 21 years old, and still full of hope. When my mother made the difficult decision to send her 12-year-old daughter off to a strange country, with strangers, she did so with the hope that someday I would be able to obtain a college education. That dream still lingers in the back of my mind.”

Advocates also noted the results of a lack of concern by state policymakers and higher education officials about the future of immigrant students:

“The state has no uniform standards for the disbursement of the state funds in financial aid, in terms of residency and legal status questions for immigrant students.”

“When you come to an end in high school, and everybody’s speaking about enrolling in college... Central American kids simply cannot speak about it. I mean, it’s completely out of their hands unless they have the financial ability to pay for college.”

For some others, the cumulative effects of the schools’ failures to meet to their needs—and the daily prejudice they encountered—lead to discouragement and cynicism. One witness at the Project’s New York City Hearing, Diana Rivera Lallave, struggled to communicate the despair of those who stay in school but receive an inferior education, by sharing some lines from a poem entitled “The Broken English Dream” by Pedro Petri:

To the United States we came:
To learn how to misspell our name;
To lose the definition of pride;
To have misfortune on our side;
To live where rats and roaches roam,
In a house that is definitely not a home;
To be trained to turn on television sets;
To dream about jobs you’ll never get;
To fill out welfare applications;
To graduate from school without an education.

High Incidence of Dropouts

Because public schools fail immigrant students in so many ways, it is not surprising that large numbers of them drop out before graduation. One comparison of U.S. Census data to school enrollment sets the dropout rate for foreign-born students at close to 70% (McCarthy, in Olsen, 1988). Unfortunately, neither federal or state governments, nor many school systems, keep dropout statistics in a manner which makes it possible to tell just how many young newcomers drop out each year. However, it is clear the numbers are large and include students from all ethnic groups:

“The fact that there are a few number of Asian students who are quite visible in their academic achievement does not mean that the rest of the new immigrant students are highly successful. It is the opposite. Many of the new Vietnamese refugee do face a lot of problem in school. Some drop out. Some are unable to complete high school. Some doing very poorly, especially in English and social [studies] and history classes.”

Camilo Perez-Bustillo
Attorney, Multicultural Education
Training and Advocacy (META),
Cambridge, MA

Oscar Chacón
National Co-Coordinator, Comité
El Salvador, Cambridge, MA
National Advisory Panel

Joseph Hian
Vietnamese Refugee Center, NY

The Challenge

Lisa Javier
Executive Director, Search to Involve
Filipino Americans, Los Angeles, CA

Rosario Anaya
San Francisco Board of Education, CA

Olay Say
Student, Boston, MA

Yva Cantave
Haitian Parent, District 17,
New York City, NY

Audrey Yamayaki-Noji
Commissioner, Orange County Human
Relations Department, CA

Dorothy Cordova
Demonstration Project for
Asian Americans, Seattle, WA
National Advisory Panel

Patricia Gandara
Assembly Office of Research,
Sacramento, CA

"A California State Department of Education Study, in 1980-81, [noted that] 40.1% of Filipino high school students dropped out before graduation."

"Immigrant children in our schools enter an educational system that's foreign, where the language is incomprehensible, where the faces of classmates are of many colors, and where parents feel unconnected and frustrated. It is alarming, but not surprising, that so many of our students fail and drop out of school."

"Maybe, 'cause the courses are hard and some of them are working and they can't do the work, 'cause they feel that they need the help, and there's not help, and they can't do it—they can't go on."

"I have a child [who] is my friend. I helped her. Now she is in junior high school. She can't even read at the second grade level, and she has a French class that she cannot handle. I think before the year is over this child will drop out."

"A lot of times Asian Pacific students are ...viewed as a model minority—in fact, that is not happening. [For example], in the Samoan population, it's about a 60% dropout rate."

"Usually people overlook Filipinos as a people who have no special needs because we speak English and most of the immigrants coming from the Philippines are educated people. However, in tracking our children ...we found that they are not staying in school; they are dropping out. We also found that people in my community are wondering why it is that the children of educated people are not even finishing school."

A witness at the Project's San Francisco hearing offered some insight into why limited English proficient students are particularly at-risk:

"Research in the area of dropouts leads us to the conclusion that students who give up on school are those students who are marginal to the school environment. They don't have a sense of belonging; they have few friends who are involved in school; and they are not integrated into the social or academic life of the campus. And nothing more effectively separates students from the mainstream of school experience than the inability to speak English and communicate with each others."

Acknowledging that public schools have responded poorly to the pressing needs of vulnerable young newcomers, one San Francisco witness speculated:

"The seeming reluctance on the part of school administrators to embrace the changing demographics is not based on a malintent to do harm to children, or not be sensitive, or not recognize their needs, but rather is based on a sense of doing what is familiar and not wanting to do what is unfamiliar."

Whatever the reasons why so many schools are failing to meet the urgent needs of young newcomers, early departure from school represents a personal tragedy for immigrant students and their families—a dashing of the highest hopes. The result is keen disappointment, a severely limited future for the student, and an equally tragic and costly loss of talent for America.

Good afternoon. My name is Luis Reyes. I am Executive Director of ASPIRA in New York. ASPIRA has a 25 year history of advocating for the social, economic and cultural advancement of the Puerto Rican Latino community, for the education and leadership development of its youth. We appreciate the opportunity to testify on the education of immigrant children at today's hearings. However, I would like to state at the outset that we believe the scope of your hearings should be broad enough to include the experience of Puerto Rican children whose movement from the island of Puerto Rico to the continental United States is technically a form of internal migration rather than international migration, but with characteristics of the latter.

The Task Force on Statistical Policy and Data Needs, a report presented to the Ford Foundation, the 1980 census and special studies in New York and Puerto Rico have revealed a marked increase both in the volume and the patterns of movements by Puerto Ricans. Substantial numbers are leaving the island for the continental U.S., returning from the "mainland" to the island, and dispersing across the U.S. The latter movement involves migration from the traditional settlement of New York, to neighboring states — New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and to sites as scattered as Texas, Florida, Illinois, and Hawaii.

It is evident that there has been little or no advancement in the socio-economic status of this group, in spite of their participation in extensive geographic movement that presumably is largely motivated by economic factors. Therefore, we need a better understanding of the differential in Puerto Rican statistical indicators including high school completion rates, and academic achievement levels, and the role of migration in either enhancing or diminishing these rates.

If we are to look at the solution for problems for immigrant children, we have to examine the issue of language minority children. And in fact, if we have failed over 12 years to meet those needs of language minority children in the system today, we are very likely not to meet the needs of immigrant children. The types of sensitivity, knowledge, accountability, programming, recruitment that is needed to meet the needs of immigrant children is the same set of standards, procedures and practices that are needed for children who are migrants as well as children who are language minority here, and have been here for either one or more generations.

...what we wanted twelve years ago as a minimum, we still have yet to see implemented fully. What we actually need are programs that are late exit bilingual programs. These children need counseling services, guidance services, that are not crisis-oriented, that are not intervention when there are problems, but that are based on a developmental model. And both the educational services in the classroom, as well as the ancillary services supporting instruction, need to come from a developmental model that does not see children — whether they are migrants, whether they are language minorities who are limited or not limited in English, or whether they are immigrant children — who do not see them as coming with liabilities. But rather understand that they are living under a set of stress factors. It is the role of the school and the larger society to deal with [those factors] and to have high expectations of those children rather than to blame them.

Testimony of Luis Reyes

Executive Director, ASPIRA, New York, NY

Testimony of Evelyn Davila

Director, National Hispanic
Scholar Awards Program, College Board,
New York, NY

My name is Evelyn Davila. I am director of the National Hispanic Scholar Awards Program of the College Board. I've been invited here today to speak to you about a collaborative project between the College Board, the Puerto Rico Department of Education, and the New York City Board of Education. The project is a two year effort funded by a grant to the College Board by the Ford Foundation, and the purpose of the grant is to deal with the academic problems that Puerto Rican students encounter when they transfer from one school system to the other — in particular, problems of access and availability of previous school records for grade placement.

Before I describe the project and the product that has resulted, known as the *education passport*, I'd like to briefly share with you some background on the population, and the reasons for the project. As many of you know, large scale migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. mainland is a post-World War II phenomenon. Contrary to other large migrant groups, they are the first group to come from a different cultural background, with a different language, and yet are citizens of the United States — citizens who are entitled to all the rights and responsibilities of that citizenship.

Legally speaking, Puerto Ricans move within the same country when they move to the mainland. They are not immigrants because they do not enter the United States as foreigners. In spite of this, the problems encountered by Puerto Ricans as they move to the mainland are very similar to problems encountered by immigrants. In fact, a series of studies that were released in the last year show that Puerto Ricans in New York lag behind other Hispanic groups in virtually every major index of economic and social progress. For example, the median family income of Puerto Ricans in New York City is \$8,913, half that of the average Anglo American family. Puerto Ricans are heavily concentrated in unskilled jobs, where social and ethnic discrimination continue to be barriers to job opportunities. In terms of education, the typical Puerto Rican student completes only 8.7 years of school. Sixty percent of Puerto Rican youths drop out of school prior to high school graduation, and among those who finally are able to graduate from high school, 25% are delayed by more than one year.

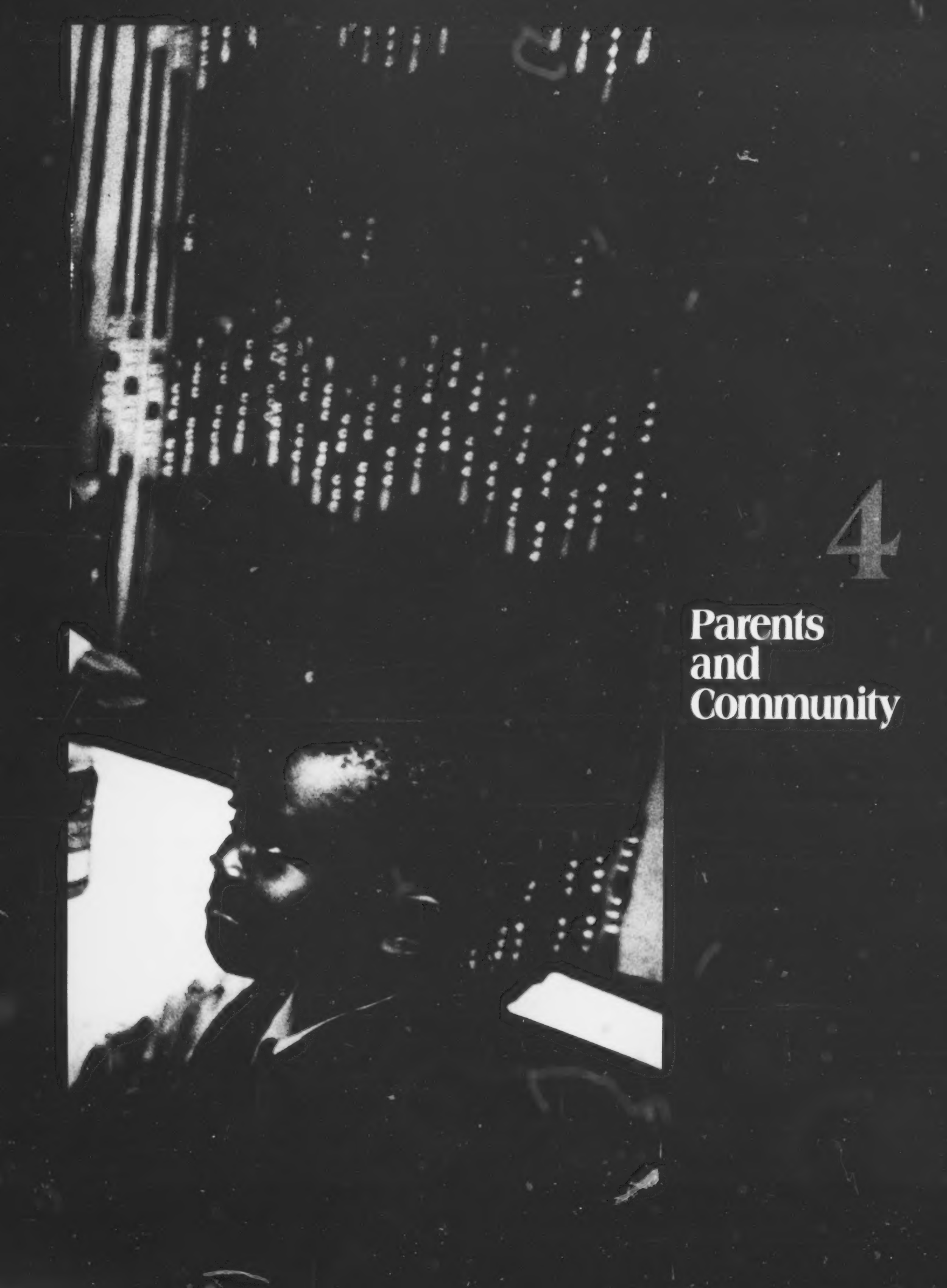
Now, facing frustration and disappointments in employment and educational opportunities when they arrive on the mainland, many Puerto Ricans move back to Puerto Rico. Geographic proximity, low airfares, and U.S. citizenship afford Puerto Ricans a high degree of physical mobility. This has led to a very unique situation among the Puerto Rican community. Many call it circular migration. Since 1965, two migratory movements have been clearly identified. One, of Puerto Ricans leaving the island, and the other, of those who are returning. Return migration intensified in the decade of the 1970s.

A study of student turnover in the New York city public schools shows that for 1981-82 academic year 18% of students entering New York City schools at non-standard times were from Puerto Rico. For that same year, the largest percentage of students leaving the New York City public schools, or 17%, were students leaving for Puerto Rico. According to this study, there were 9,927 reported cases of students transferring during one school year, between New York and Puerto Rico, and these figures do not even start to reflect the total, because many students don't even bother to tell their schools that they are leaving.

It is not our intent to change school records or the official report that comes from the school. All we are suggesting is that the student carry and *education passport* so that they can be placed as soon as he gets into the school, and then they can send away for the school record. One of the important things in this passport system is the correct mailing address of the previous school. Something as simple as that can create confusion and make it difficult for the student. We've tried to [arrive at] the most simple way of dealing with the solution. We obviously know this is not going to take care of everything. But if we can start getting some kind of a process, a way to share information between the two systems, I think we can start understanding each other better.

Student information includes the courses that they've taken, health information, because students cannot be enrolled without that vital health information, information on special education — all that is needed for immediate placement. Then they can send away for the official school record. Because we know that things do not work if we just put it on the shoulders of the people in the schools, we came up with a poster, suggesting that it be put in places where the student could see it, because the student has to know that [the passport] exists. We are now trying to get this into the public transportation systems in New York and Puerto Rico, again because the community has to be aware of it.





4

**Parents
and
Community**

Parents and Community

The Project was deeply impressed with the tremendous faith immigrant families place in education. Like those who arrived before them, recent immigrants come to this country seeking a better life for themselves and their children. Many know the importance of education in achieving this goal and look to the public schools to bring their hopes to fruition.

Immigrant parents often described to the Project the sacrifices they make to help their children succeed in school. Although many live in poverty and expressed serious concern about finances, they generally have high educational expectations for their children. Close to 70% of the parents interviewed by the Project said they wanted their children to graduate from high school and go on to college (See also Wong-Fillmore, 1983).

While the Project found a consistent desire on the part of immigrant parents to be involved in their children's schooling, it also identified several barriers which constrain and undermine immigrant parents' efforts to participate:

- Unresponsive school systems which fail to reach out with sensitivity and understanding to immigrant parents, instead expecting immigrant parents to reach out to the school;
- School staff who view school participation by immigrant parents as a challenge to their professional abilities and authority;
- School structures and policies which fail to recognize the unique problems facing immigrant families including differing cultural expectations based on the educational traditions in the homeland, lack of schooling in the homeland, limited ability to communicate with school personnel in English, limited time due to heavy work schedules, and fear of involvement with institutions for those who are undocumented.

This chapter reviews the importance of parental involvement, and examines the barriers confronting immigrant parents. The role of community organizations is also discussed.

Immigrant Parents and the Schools

Project interviews of immigrant parents revealed a strong desire by many to become more involved with their children's education; others did not understand that their involvement was either desirable or appropriate. Many parents were already actively involved in their children's schools, and several expressed considerable understanding of the importance of their involvement:

Maria Ortiz
Parent, NY

"We immigrant parents are fighting very hard for the educational rights of our children. We need your help, the Chancellor's help. Help us, so we can help ourselves and our children."

Mexican Mother
Chicago, IL

"It's hard, but parents have to get involved. I don't know what the matter is, but schools don't give resources to everyone."

Haitian Father
Cambridge, MA

"I make frequent visits to the schools of my children to speak to their teachers. I hear too many bad things going on with kids in school these days. I don't take any chances. Also, parents' visits to their children's schools have a positive effect on the children's behavior."

When asked how they would change their children's school, parents spoke incisively:

"I would like to have more care for the children, more nurturing and attention. If they got more attention, they would learn better."

*Mexican Mother
Chicago, IL*

"If I were to have a voice in improving the school system I would like to have an Asian bilingual teacher in the elementary school. Being a parent with limited English speaking skill, I feel that I am being deprived of my rights as a parent whenever I am in need of questioning my child's performance."

*Vietnamese Mother
Amherst, MA*

"I don't like the discipline in the schools. I think the schools here are not strict enough. I don't like the idea of putting a child in a grade because he is a certain age."

*Haitian Mother
Cambridge, MA*

"Every teacher must be fair toward the students regardless to their intelligent, their race."

*Cambodian Mother
Houston, TX*

The Value of Parental Involvement

Research shows that children whose home lives and primary social networks are consistent with the expectations and styles of the schools they attend have a distinct scholastic advantage (Comer, 1984). Since the expectations and styles of U.S. public schools are usually based on White, middle-class values, the majority of immigrant children do not gain this advantage. Immigrant parents offer a rich resource to public schools because their active involvement could help bridge the gap between the differing cultures immigrant children experience at home and at school.

The Project found that immigrant children, even those who have suffered considerably, are remarkably resilient. Many manage to bridge the gap between home and school and make the necessary positive attachments and identifications with the dominant school culture to perform well academically and socially. However, when the gap is large and school efforts to close it are minimal, chances for success are greatly diminished.

Active parental involvement in schools — through roles such as teacher's aides, creators or coordinators of extracurricular activities, and participants in policy decisions — helps insure a culturally sensitive academic and social school program. Their participation reduces children's experience of the distance between home and school, and sends a message to children that the school staff and program are important. When educators engage minority parents as partners in their children's education, they develop a sense of efficacy which is communicated to their children with positive academic results (Comer, 1984; Cummins, 1986).

The documented benefits of active parent involvement include increased student achievement, improved behavior, lower absenteeism, more positive student attitudes toward school, and improved homework habits (Comer, 1984; Hess & Holloway, 1984; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie, 1987).

The power of involving parents with schools is illustrated by the Haringey Project carried out in Britain (Tizard, Schofield, & Hewison, 1982; cited in Cummins, 1986). To evaluate the effects of parental involvement in the teaching of reading, elementary school children read to their parents at home on a regular basis. The schools studied were in multi-ethnic areas where many of the parents did not read English or use it at home. Even parents who were largely non-literate and non-English speaking were enthusiastic, agreeing to hear their children read and complete a record card of what had been read.

Parents and Community

The results were dramatic. Children who read to their parents made significantly greater progress in reading than those who did not, including children who were failing to learn to read. By comparison, reading improvement resulting from small-group instruction by a reading specialist was not nearly as great as that obtained through collaboration with parents. Moreover, teachers reported that the children engaged in the project were better behaved and showed increased motivation for learning.

Also supporting the value of teacher and parent interaction, Hoover-Dempsey, *et al.* (1987) found that teacher efficacy—defined as teachers' beliefs that they are effective in teaching, that the children they teach can learn, and that they can access a body of professional knowledge when they need it—was highly correlated with parent involvement. Higher levels of teacher efficacy were associated with higher levels of parent involvement. A strong sense of efficacy in teaching implies a sense of professionalism and security in the teaching role. The study concludes:

“An efficacious teacher, sure of his or her teaching abilities, also likely conveys a sense that requests for parent help are a complement to the teaching program, not a sign of teaching inadequacy. Higher teacher efficacy may also work to increase teachers' and parents' sense of role differentiation and complementarity, thus minimizing perceptions of threat to role or expertise that may attend parent-teacher interaction.”

Moreover, several educators and researchers argue that avenues for constructive relationships between parents and school must be developed to ensure that schools, families, and communities are strengthened, not weakened, as effective promoters of children's development (Comer, 1984; Cummins, 1986; Hess & Holloway, 1984; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie, 1987; Lightfoot, 1981).

Barriers Created by Schools

Given the considerable obstacles they face, the willingness of immigrant parents to approach schools underscores the importance they place on their children's education. However, the Project found that parents' attempts at interaction are often met by indifference, insensitivity to cultural differences and language barriers, and even hostility on the part of the school personnel:

“Although parental involvement has risen dramatically during the past few years, their participation and efforts to create improvements have been shunned by most school administrators and completely disregarded by our School Board and Superintendent.”

“We [parents] really had to resolve the incident which started as a small incident, but the school blew it out of proportion. It was a very frustrating experience for us. The attitude of the school was quite aggressive.”

“One other complaint that everybody had was that Haitian parents are not very supportive, even though some acknowledge that they are coming out a little more these days. But Haitian parents are not being given any incentive to be supportive. They have no one...there is no staff at the schools to help a parent who comes to school without a knowledge of English. They don't understand what's going on...they do not have any type of help from teachers, from the secretarial staff, from people who receive them, the clerk who receives them when they first arrive at the school, and it's no use for them to come.”

Daniel Abreu
Teacher at I.S. 143, District 6, NY

Benny Gatan
Filipino Parent, Union City, CA

Reine Leroy
Intergroup Relations Representative,
Dade County Public Schools, FL

Immigrant parents also reported considerable frustration when schools request their input, but then fail to really listen and respond to their concerns:

"And most of the time, again through my experience, I feel that most parents are very, very frustrated. At every meeting the parents attend, instead of the school taking their advice, they give advice. Sometimes the school asks them to sit on the advisory board. Instead of the parents giving advice to the school personnel, the school personnel advises them, a lot of times. And that is just confusing, and most frustrating. Every time they give advice, they think that the school district didn't get the message."

One hearing witness felt that schools apply a double standard for parental involvement:

"I noticed that schools may not make a lot of demands on parental involvement among their regular American kids. And here we have to be careful that we don't demand from our immigrant parents a lot more than of other parents. And that for me is a very dangerous thing. Why doesn't the school demand a lot of time and effort from other parents...?"

As noted earlier, many schools which immigrant students attend are overcrowded, deteriorating, underfunded, and understaffed. School personnel may feel they do not have the funds or the time to take on the responsibility of reaching out to immigrant parents. Teachers may hesitate to involve parents because of the time required for effective parent participation and the lack of external rewards for efforts to involve parents (Epstein & Becker, 1982).

Research indicates other dynamics may also play a significant role in a school's unwillingness or inability to encourage active participation of immigrant parents.

In a recent cross-cultural study, Davies (1987) interviewed 350 parents and teachers from Boston, Massachusetts, Liverpool, England, and several sites in Portugal. Parallel to the findings of this Project, he reported that most parents expressed a strong interest in their children's education, understood the importance of school, and wanted to be more involved. The attitudes expressed by teachers and administrators, however, revealed stereotypic beliefs that act as barriers to effective communication between school personnel and parents. Preliminary results of the study indicate:

- Communications between schools and low income/low status families is primarily negative. Most families only hear from the schools when their child is having problems.
- Educators often expect children from families who deviate from the standard middle-class norms to experience problems in school.
- Teachers and administrators appear to view these families as deficient, and concentrate on their problems rather than their strengths.
- School staff feel that low income/low status parents are "hard-to-reach," and that the cause of this problem lies in family and community characteristics, not with school policies and practices. Many educators appear to believe that parents do not have the time, interest, or competence to participate, and simply do not value education.

Yang Sam
Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance
Association, Philadelphia, PA;
National Advisory Panel

Other researchers have found teachers may be threatened by involvement because they feel parents are questioning their professional competence (Epstein & Becker, 1982). James Vasquez, Superintendent of Edgewood Independent School District, San Antonio, Texas, during the National Advisory Panel Hearing, stressed the importance of considering perceived threats to the teacher's role or sense of control when assessing resistance to parental involvement:

*James Vasquez
Superintendent, Edgewood Independent
School District, San Antonio, TX;
National Advisory Panel*

"...there are efforts in the school districts to deal with language minority parents — what we call oral-language development techniques, reading readiness techniques, beginning reading techniques — and we actually put them through the same kind of classes that the child is going through and they are ready then to help the child when they begin. The problem is, as the student moves up in the grade level, then teachers and administrators begin to figure out that they are losing power. And it begins to get a little more difficult when you move up, because as long as we have control, we have control. If some of that control is threatened, then we're no longer in control. And there is no reluctance in the early grades to have this kind of situation with parents. As you move up the grade structure, there is a reluctance. And I think it has to do [with]...empowerment, that also infers that somebody's going to have to give it up. And I think that that's the way it's perceived by teachers and administrators."

The Effect of Cultural Expectations

In some other cultures, such as Southeast Asian, schools are invested with considerable authority. Teachers hold a position of importance and high esteem in the community and parents defer to their knowledge and authority. Once children are in school, their education is considered the responsibility of the teachers, and parents are usually not involved. When parents are requested to come to school it is usually because their child is having academic or behavioral difficulties (Walker, 1988).

Consequently, some immigrant parents defer to the decisions of American educators, even when they are not comfortable with them. In addition, they may initially have ambivalent feelings when requested to visit their children's schools:

*Nil Hul
Parent, Long Beach, CA*

"Indo-Chinese parents, especially Cambodians, still believe that the school system over here is no different from back home, which has been regulated and standardized and made uniform throughout the country...they believe that once in school, their children's education and discipline are the sole responsibility of the school and the teachers, and parents are not supposed to have anything to do with that. Therefore, Indo-Chinese parents have mixed feelings when they are invited by teachers to go and discuss their children's progress."

*Cambodian Father
Philadelphia, PA*

"I think every school is a good school. It depends on the students themselves and their parents who cooperate with the school authority for the sake of the children."

*Yang Sam
Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance
Association, Philadelphia, PA;
National Advisory Panel*

"Speaking about organizing the parents here, the Southeast Asian parents sometimes question us as organizers: 'What kind of role do you expect us to play in our children's education?' And behind their question, because they have an understanding that in their homes — Cambodians for example — the parent's responsibility is to work with the Buddhist temple and then build a school. And after the school is built, it is the teacher's responsibility to do that. In their homeland, their role is so well defined. But then when they come here, they wonder why the schools ask them to come to the school to ask them for advice. They don't understand their new roles."

Concern about the lack of discipline also reflects differing cultural expectations. Homeland schools—particularly in Haiti—are apparently more rigid in structure and much stricter with discipline. Many Haitians interviewed by the Project pointed to the perceived lack of discipline in American schools as a major concern. Parents from other cultures also complained of the lack of discipline in their children's schools:

“...When you ask me what is the key problem I see, it's clear that in the public system what is needed is discipline. Many parents are complaining of lack of discipline coming from Haiti, where they [parents] can be expecting that the teacher will take over, and someone will be in charge of everything.”

“I like some things [about the schools] but some things I do not like too much freedom, not enough structure, children become undisciplined.”

“I would change teachers to be more strict. I don't like it when teachers are lenient.”

“But when I heard the stories of the things that kids learned in school, I felt a little regret for bringing my children here. The schools give too much freedom to the kids. Kids need lots of guidance. My children learn good things too, but they learn more bad manners than anything else.”

Differing cultural expectations can be further complicated by immigrant parents' lack of understanding of the structure of the American education system:

“The refugee parents are frustrated. On the one hand, they want to push their children academically, they want them to become someone in this society, to work hard, to study well. On the other hand, they cannot effectively intervene in the education process, they cannot even attend school functions...even school conferences, because of the language, but most often because they are not familiar with the process, with...how to get things done here.”

“Now in my first meeting with the people, with the community, and I talked to them about what their educational needs were, they told me that they wanted to know how to deal with the school system. Many of them did not know the name of the school their child was in, they didn't know the grade, they didn't know where the school was, they had never been to the school, and they were very confused about what was going on.”

Many immigrants lived under repressive dictatorial regimes in their homelands and are grateful their children even have an opportunity to be in school:

“It is my sense, and maybe I can be corrected on this, that a lot of times parents feel, because of the dictatorship that they're coming from and the miserable situation they were used to there...parents tend to be grateful that their children can go to school, and are in school, and they tend to be deferential to almost all of the school personnel, because they don't realize the independent role that they really have to play in their children's education...because of cultural differences and political differences that people have experienced, people aren't used to the notion that they have the power, that they have the right to say something about the way that education should be structured in the school system. And how to go about doing it once they make that realization.”

Joe Etienne
Executive Director,
Haitian Centers Council, New York City;
National Advisory Panel

Haitian Parent
Boston, MA

Mexican Parent
Chicago, IL

Haitian Mother
Cambridge, MA

Vu-Duc Vuong
Executive Director, Center for
Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement,
San Francisco, CA

Sister Lumina
Education Consultant,
Kmbuu Family Community, Boston, MA

John Ratliff
Education Advocacy Project,
Legal Services of Greater Miami, FL

Education Level of Parents

Many immigrant parents arrive in this country with little formal schooling. Forty percent of the parents interviewed indicated that they had completed only elementary school, or less. This problem was especially severe for Southeast Asian parents, with close to 70% in this category. Less than 30% of the parents interviewed had completed high school, or any secondary education.

Jackie Michel
Haitian Mother, Miami, FL

"When the kids bring their things to me, I have to compare with some sort of book, which I don't know anything about. Sometimes I don't even have the book at home, and they're supposed to get the homework from the book. That's how I'm suppose to help. So it can be very hard for those who don't even know how to read, and those who don't even know how to communicate. It's even hard for me."

Oscar Chacon
National Co-Coordinator, Comite
El Salvador, Cambridge, MA;
National Advisory Panel

"...parents, which in many cases are illiterate...hardly know how to assist their children just in questions of, for example, adding or multiplying, and things like this. I mean, they are completely unable to assist."

Salvadoran Mother
San Francisco, CA

"He has had little help. I have been working; they go to child care. Sometimes I help, but I am tired. My husband does not understand English. It has been a big problem."

Even facing these obstacles, immigrant parents appear to understand the importance of homework, and at least try to help their children. Close to 50% of the immigrant parents interviewed by the Project indicated that they attempted to help their children with homework, with less than 20% indicating that no one was available to help their children. In contrast, however, less than 10% of the immigrant students interviewed said their parents were able to help them with homework, and 41% indicated that no one assisted them. Both immigrant parents and students reported that older siblings, other relatives, and friends helped with homework from time to time.

Constraints of Language and Time

Many immigrant parents do not speak English. This lack of facility with English is further compounded by schools' failure to provide bilingual staff. Almost 40% of the immigrant parents interviewed identified language as an obstacle to more active involvement in their children's education. This problem was particularly acute for Southeast Asian parents, where 65% indicated that language impeded their participation.

Vietnamese Mother
Amherst, MA

"My level of English skill is still very weak. I have to admit that I cannot be of any assistance to my son with his school work."

May Ying Chen
Legal Assistant, ILGWU
Immigration Project, New York, NY

"Speaking little English, parents do not understand how the schools work, and cannot help their children with school work or school problems. Sometimes school personnel mistake this communications gap for ignorance or apathy. In these situations, Asian parents have had to overcome barriers of insensitivity or even racism in order to make their needs known."

As noted in Chapter 2, many immigrant parents live in conditions of poverty and work long hours, often at two jobs, to maintain their families. Close to 40% percent of interviewed parents pointed to work and time constraints as obstacles to involvement with schools. This is particularly a barrier for Haitian parents, as 62% indicated their work interfered with increased involvement in their children's education. Transportation and child care problems further constrain parental participation.

"Because they must work at times two jobs and long hours, they don't have the time to become directly involved. This is not to mention the fact that they oftentimes lack the language skills to seek the needed information."

"I have to work regular and overtime, too. My wife also work and go to school after work. We don't have enough time for our children."

"Most of the families, both husband and wife have to go to work to support themselves and their children. They have no time or opportunity to learn English. Therefore, they are unable to teach their children at home or to track the children's progress at school. Some of them cannot even know how to read or understand the report card or notice from school, and they never participate in the PTA meeting or meetings with the children's counselor and teachers."

"I cannot go regularly to the school. Every now and then I go. But it's very far and I have no car."

Some undocumented immigrant parents resist involvement because they fear detection of their illegal status by school personnel.

"It has been our experience that many, many people are simply afraid of the school system because the school system represents the government, the people who know I don't have a green card, and they want to stay as far away as possible."

Finally, when schools fail to meet the needs of immigrant children, their parents can hold themselves responsible for the children's educational success, placing a heavy burden on immigrant parents:

"When my children came here in 1980, they were non-English speaking kids. They were enrolled in a school [which] provided them with only half an hour of ESL every two days. I had a full-time job, and I had to take over the education of my own children, and I felt bitter about that, because I paid taxes as other people do, and yet my children, who were going to public school, paid for with my tax money, and my children didn't get the kind of education and services that they deserved. But, because of their future, I had to take over the education of my children. Every night I had to spend four hours teaching them all their subjects. I had to ask their teachers what they were teaching them in school during that day so that I could relearn it to teach my kids at night in Vietnamese. So, that's too much of a demand for immigrant parents."

Layne St. Louis
League of Haitian Families, Boston, MA

Laotian Father
Houston, TX

Joseph Huan
Vietnamese Refugee Center, NY

Mexican Mother
San Juan, TX

Kathy Jarvis
Advocates for Children of New York, NY;
National Advisory Panel

Hai Tran
Bilingual Education Multifunctional
Resource Center, Norman, OK;
National Advisory Panel

The Role of the Community

The Project found community organizations, immigrant advocacy groups, and parent groups to be a rich source of information and understanding of the needs and strengths of immigrant students and their families. These organizations helped make it possible for the Project to gain access to the communities it studied. They helped identify key hearing witnesses, facilitated interviews with immigrant families, and provided useful and current literature and data.

Many of these same community groups and advocacy organizations are behind efforts to identify and address the issues and barriers affecting immigrant students. Whether it involved working with schools to make enrollment procedures more accessible to Haitian immigrant families in Miami, or suing the state of Texas to gain the right of access to public schools for undocumented students in *Plyler v. Doe*, the range of support for immigrant rights was impressive. Across the nation, community activists are:

- working with schools to provide staff training — often free of charge — to help enable schools to teach immigrant students;
- organizing legal suits to mandate broader bilingual services;
- identifying and recruiting bilingual personnel;
- providing immigrant students with mental health services;
- working with immigrant families to provide resettlement services;
- advocating for access to public higher education;
- serving as role models for young immigrant students;
- documenting INS harassment, or violence against immigrant communities, and organizing against it.

One New York hearing witness spoke of the need to recognize the vital role which community-based organizations play in the lives of immigrant families:

Joanne Oplustil
Executive Director, Church Avenue
Merchants Block Association,
Brooklyn, NY

"We work with the parents day-in and day-out, and so do the other community-based agencies that are here. We're in their homes on a daily basis. We can talk to them; they trust us and they'll talk to us. The school system is something that they do not understand. Because they cannot speak English, they're not really willing to go up to the school and find out what the problem is, or how the system works, or what they're to do.

"I think it's important for the [New York] Board of Education to realize that these agencies are in the community [and] we are willing to help...it took us four years before the schools recognized us and bothered to start sending students to us."

The Project found, all too often, that these organizations — aside from individual efforts by parents, friends and school personnel — are the only groups actively involved in the day-to-day struggle of dealing with the needs of immigrant students. They are generally underfunded and understaffed, and are faced with a long list of issues that cry out for their attention.

Community Organizations and the Schools

Community organizations can be powerful allies for assisting schools to meet the multi-faceted needs of immigrant students and families. Working directly with families, staff of community agencies are often able to develop trusting and productive relationships with immigrant parents, who themselves are often very active within these organizations, as illustrated by one Haitian community leader:

Joseph Etienne
Executive Director, Haitian Centers
Council, New York, NY;
National Advisory Panel

"...the school [PS 189] is doing well because we have parent involvement there...[and the school] also works with the community centers [of the Haitian Centers Council]. One of our social centers has after school programs where we work with all the students. Many times the schools turn to the community centers and we in turn go to parents to deal with the problem. The schools turn to us because they know that we are known by the parents."

Community groups can also have access to important information which might not otherwise be available to parents and advocates:

"I think the idea of partnerships between community-based agencies and schools are very important...once you have a community-based organization in a school on a full-time basis, you have access to people and data which are invaluable to the rest of the community in terms of advocacy for their children."

The Project found, however, that schools are generally reluctant to tap the knowledge and experience community organizations have to offer. Schools either fail to reach out to them, or deliberately bar them from participation.

Community agencies' staff members reported great frustration with attempts to coordinate services with the public schools. Only after schools have been forced to deal with the needs of immigrant students do they begin to turn to these organizations, and then with great reluctance. Schools can fail to take them seriously, expect their services to be free, or view them as a temporary resource:

"They're not letting us do anything, bottom line. They have their own set of standards as to how to evaluate a child. If a child needs to be evaluated to be put into the proper class for proper services, they say there is a two or three month wait. What we're saying is, 'we will intervene with you. We will do the psychological testing for you.' Their objection is they cannot do it until they achieve clearance to utilize an outside agency. I can understand funding requirements, but do we play the game of funding and let a child sit for three or four months? We're not even asking to be paid."

"Anybody who wants to work with the people in their small communities knows that you go through whatever kind of a community association the people have. Everybody seems to know that except the school system. They have a blockpoint when it comes to dealing with the community associations formed by these worker groups or immigrant groups...They won't deal with people whom they think of as activists. And yet, you agree that the schools themselves don't seem to demonstrate that they have any real way at all of dealing with parents, other than through the business of sending home notes and so on."

Overburdened and underfinanced, schools cannot be expected to meet all of the diverse needs newcomers present. However, they should be willing to engage with those community groups willing to share the responsibility. Schools have to relinquish some control and refocus efforts to forge new relationships with community agencies:

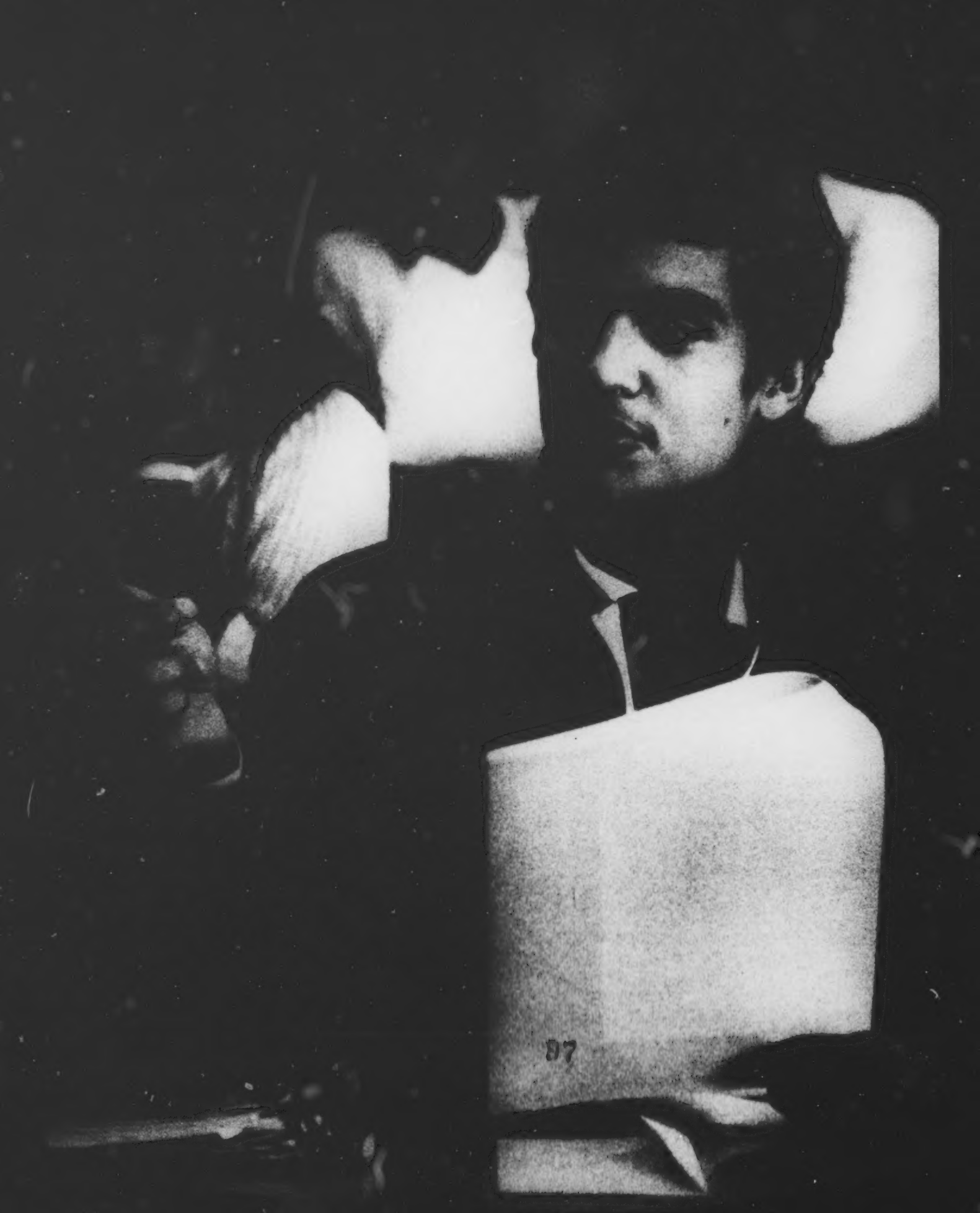
"I think if we're going to talk about asking outside folks to be more involved in the schools, we have to stop trying to hold on to everything ourselves, and I think that it makes a lot of sense to contract out a whole range of services that someone else can provide more efficiently than we can...schools cannot meet the needs of these children by themselves. We must find better ways of drawing upon resources, people who are able to work around the clock, who don't go home at three o'clock the way school people do, who don't go away for a week in April, who don't close down for three months in the summer, who will take a look at the entire family and the community and find ways in which student needs can be met."

Holly Lockwood
Executive Director, Metropolitan
Indochinese Children & Adolescent
Services, Chelsea, MA;
Project National Advisory Panel

Jean Sofirakis
Hellenic American Neighborhood
Action Committee, New York, NY

Phil Buskirk
Haitian Community Advocate, FL

Charles Glenn
Director, Bureau of Equal Educational
Opportunity, Boston, MA



**Finding
Solutions**

**Testimony of
William Waxman**

*Principal, Garfield Elementary School,
Revere, MA*

My name is Bill Waxman. I am the Principal of the Garfield School in Revere, MA. The Garfield is one of six elementary schools in Revere, where elementary schools are organized K-8. It was a K-8 building, then the influx of the Southeast Asian children overcrowded the school so we had to move our 7th and 8th grade children out to another school—hopefully temporarily.

We are the only school in the city with any kind of a bilingual program. There are 550 students in the school; approximately 48% are Southeast Asians at this time. However, in the kindergarten, first grade, and beginning of the second grade, over 50% of the students are Southeast Asian. So that's what we can look forward to in the future! There are just a handful of Hispanic children and even fewer Black children. So at the Garfield Elementary, when we talk about a bilingual program, we are talking about teaching the Cambodian child.

Back in 1981, when the Garfield School was a 100% Anglo school with no Hispanic children, no Black children, and no foreign-speaking children, word came down that a group of Cambodians were moving to Revere, and into the Garfield district. We learned that by September, we would have about 100 Cambodian children. Well, we panicked. Thank goodness for the Massachusetts Department of Education, which was the first place where we turned for help.

The first thing we had to come to terms with was that these children that were coming were certainly different than the children we had had in the past, and it was incumbent upon us—everyone in the school—to make every effort to understand who these children were, where they came from, and why they were coming here. The Department of Education provided a training grant to us. We invited people in who had been through this experience, and asked them to tell us what to expect, and how best to deal with it.

We had a sensitivity workshop. Every teacher in the school took part. We learned about the Cambodian experience, about what these people had gone through—the suffering—why they were coming to this country.

The consultants did an excellent job of preparing us. There were little idiosyncracies that the teachers had to understand. They had to learn not to take offense if these children don't look you in the eye, that's merely a sign of respect. Don't pat these children on the head, that's insulting. There were other little things, like when Cambodian students have been ill sometimes you may find that their skin has been ripped as a result of having been rubbed with a coin to alleviate the pain. We were totally ignorant of a lot of these things.

We came to the conclusion that our goal must be to offer these children the best education possible, and also, and probably even more importantly, to make them feel that they were wanted, that they were welcome in this land, that this school was a building full of friends, not just a brick and mortar place where they would learn.

So we went on a crusade of teaching every child in the school about the Cambodian children that were coming. We taught our students why these students were coming — about the suffering they had been through. We implemented an anti-prejudice program, so that all of the students at Garfield School would understand what prejudice is. We used the prejudice book published by B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League as our guide, and every classroom in the school spent a half hour to an hour every single day discussing prejudice... what it is... beware of it... be afraid of it... don't be guilty of it. When these children come, let's show them that prejudice does not exist at the Garfield School — that they're welcome. We had the children prepared to extend their hands in friendship to them, to tell them, "My name is Michael or Angela. What is your name? Welcome to the school!" At Garfield Elementary School, every new child is immediately paired up with a buddy; and that buddy is responsible for that new child for one week. We try to pair them up according to where they live, so that they can come to school together and go home together. This practice had always worked quite well, so we tried to elaborate on it and use it with the Cambodian children that were coming into the school. We set up a buddy system within each room; and that worked quite well. Every Cambodian child that came into the school was immediately given a buddy, and that buddy introduced them to friends in the school, sat with them at lunchtime, and showed them around.

In the beginning, we really did not have a bilingual program because the children were coming in spurts. The first batch would be one hundred, and then it would be ten and then it would be two. It took us a while to catch up and formulate the program which we now have. In the beginning, we were most concerned with just welcoming the new children, helping them to understand that the suffering was behind them, that they were amongst friends. I think we succeeded in that.

Then we got into the business of education. We decided that the best program was the program that we are using now. The children come into the school in the morning, and they report to their homeroom. We had to give up our cafeteria and many other areas because of overcrowding. So the children eat breakfast in their homerooms. Homerooms have an equal number of Cambodian and American children. They eat breakfast and then they have their homeroom period for about 15–20 minutes. They come back together as a mixed group for music, for art, for gym, for penmanship, and also for what we call School Problem Discussions: What's happening in school? What are your problems in school?

There are four teachers to each grade, because there are four homerooms in each grade. And in addition to the four teachers, there is one bilingual teacher, one Chapter I teacher, and one special needs teacher for grades K-3, and another special needs teacher for grades 4-6.

When the children go up to their reading period they can go in many directions. The bilingual children do not feel as though they are leaving their group, that they're being separated, because the Chapter I children, the bilingual children, the special needs children, all go in the same direction. So the homeroom is going in many directions, and the bilingual children don't feel as though they're being pulled away from their homeroom, leaving all of their friends behind. They all go in different directions and they all come back.

As far as the mainstream is concerned, all classes run parallel. If the bilingual class is learning history in its native language with the bilingual teacher, then the first grade class is learning history at exactly the same time so that we can move children in and out of either a bilingual or an English-speaking class without affecting anything else. To begin with, the children who have great difficulty understanding English spend a half of their day in a native-speaking class, and a half of their day in an English-speaking class. And then as they progress, more and more in the English and less and less in the native-speaking. So that hopefully within three years they come out of ESL and go into Chapter I. By three years time, hopefully, there's no longer a native-speaking class, except that the native language is still used informally. Many of the children do not even understand the language of their homeland, so we continue that.

Then we tried to carry the buddy system out of school. To be very honest with you, there is a great deal of resentment in the area toward the newcomers. The resentment does not exist in school. The children get along beautifully. I have had no problems with any kind of prejudice or racism of that sort. The children get along very, very well. But there is a problem at home, and there's a problem on the Avenue, in the area where they live. We've told the children that the elders will have to learn from them. Bring your friends home, introduce them to your parents.

We've given them team projects to do that involve their parents. There will be four or six students on a team, and they may have to go into each other's homes, and part of the project may depend on the adult in that house participating in the project. We try to get the parents as involved as possible.

The State Department of Education suggested that we form an advisory committee of Cambodian parents. The only time we could meet was on Sunday afternoon, because they were all working. So we met on Sunday afternoon. I'm pleased to say that there is no more need for a PAC committee, because Monday night when I went to my PTA Board of Directors meeting, three members of the board were Cambodian parents. So Cambodian parents have been integrated as far as involvement in the school.

The PTA maintains an office in the school, and I notice that there are just as many Cambodian people coming into that office as English-speaking people. So I think that that's working quite well.

I want to tell you about one more program. As I said earlier, there is a problem outside the school on the Avenue, so through a grant from the State Department of Education, to support a mixed summer program with 100 children in grades 1-2 that come into a building for an eight weeks. We also have ten Cambodian and ten American teenagers working as teacher aides, and there's two to each team, one American and one Cambodian teenager, working with five or six children, half of whom are Cambodian and the other half American. They work on reading, on tutoring, on just learning to work together. The teenagers that are in the program are hand-picked by me. I chose American kids who are indigenous leaders on the Avenue, the biggest troublemakers on the Avenue, and the Cambodian kids that I feel others will follow. That program is now going into its third year, and we've noticed that there have been friendships as a result of it. It's working very well.

I know that a great deal of the programming and a lot of the wonderful things that have happened in the Garfield School are due to one very enthusiastic, very committed person—yourself. But I wonder, beyond that, what has made it possible for this really exciting program to take place? What is it that we could say to another community that suddenly had a large number of kids arrive, that makes this integration possible, the kind of comprehensive services possible, the links between the school and the community?

I think the first thing you have to do is totally understand these children, and why they're there. Then, I think we all came to the conclusion that we should be grateful that we had the opportunity to do something like this.

Can you elaborate upon the role that the State Department of Education played, that you found so helpful in getting all of this started?

Yes. They helped us in every way possible. There is no way that we could have accomplished what we have without the assistance that we received from them. They were there when we needed them. They worked quickly. They gave us financial assistance. They gave us time... and expertise.

Well, I want to tip my hat, because it sounds like you are able to teach others what community is about, both within the school and "On the Avenue," as you say. Do you find that the parents whose instincts may be less open than yours—or than their own children's—are learning from their children that prejudice is something that we can all do something about?

Absolutely; absolutely I feel that way. I've had many, many parents come to me and thank me for getting them involved and for making them feel better about themselves. Our problem right now, to be honest with you, is getting the Cambodian parents to let go of their children. They have a great deal of fear. They're very afraid...the kids are invited to birthday parties and not allowed to go. So, we had a meeting a couple of weeks ago with some Cambodian parents, to talk about that. We told them: 'You know, when the children are invited to a party you've got to let go.'

Do you find that principals, either in the Greater Boston area or in other parts of the country, are asking questions about what's working and why?

I'm not sure anybody knows we exist.

Well, we're going to put you on the speaker's circuit.

Panel Member

Waxman

Panel Member

Waxman

Panel Member

Waxman

Panel Member

Waxman

Panel Member

Testimony of Paul Cheng
*Principal, Newcomer High School,
 San Francisco, CA*

My name is Paul Cheng. I've been principal of Newcomer High School [San Francisco] for the past six years. I'd like to make a few comments which relate to the topics which have been addressed so far. I think there's some difference between being insensitive and being unresponsive; there's a difference between being malicious and mindless. There are people in school systems that have a certain attitude which we could characterize as insensitive, but as a total school system, they cannot be unresponsive. I think if you look at the school districts throughout California, they probably can be identified according to what their ideological or educational preferences are.

I think in San Francisco a lot of dramatic things have happened in the past several years. I want to describe a few things about Newcomer High School that we think are working. We have come a long way since 1979 when we started the school. We had a tremendous debate — a long dialogue — as to what Newcomer High School should do for the students who are enrolling. The consensus was that if we were to have a school that was different from all the other high schools, it must have a special purpose. We thought: 'We cannot serve everybody; we cannot do everything. So let's do something well and let's identify those things that we can do well.'

We started out on a mission of trying to help immigrant students who come from all over the world, and who would have all kinds of educational backgrounds. After two years of trying to meet everyone's needs, we decided to take care of only those students who come with eight years or less of previous education in their own country. That means we had to restructure the curriculum and retrain some of the teachers, in order to heighten our chances of successfully meeting the needs of students who have had address those who have limited educational backgrounds. For the past six years we have designed and implemented a program based upon the assumption that, if we can only do something in a year's time, we must do it with the most effectiveness, and be held accountable for the degree of that effectiveness.

We have had youngsters coming from 39 different countries, so far this year. They speak 22 different languages and dialects. The challenge is, how do we design a program that can address all these needs? Well luckily, as the chips fall, we have a vast majority who fall into the primary language groups, where there are teachers or para-professionals who can meet their needs in bilingual subject classes.

All the youngsters at Newcomer High School, just like the youngsters in other high schools in San Francisco, take six classes. Three of them are English as a Second Language (ESL). They include ESL language development, ESL language lab, and ESL reading. We have 53 minutes each for those classes. We take on an elementary concept called "a block of time" for language development and the language lab, where we have the same teacher staying with the students for 106 minutes. Then they go to the third class with a different teacher.

The fourth and fifth classes are bilingual support classes in mathematics and social studies, basically a world civilizations class. In math you have youngsters whose skills range from basic computational math to college preparatory math — that's math analysis, pre-calculus. You have youngsters who are very capable of doing mathematics but they have very little or no fluency in English.

I constantly remind people that, when they look at youngsters who have eight years or less of prior formal schooling, they should not try to judge their intelligence. There is no correlation. In the social studies class, we have classes for various youngsters in the major language groups, as I said earlier.

There is a sixth class, that is conducted using the "sheltered English" mode. In these classes — physical education, art, biology or physical science, the youngsters are racially, ethnically mixed, just like the other classes in ESL. In the bilingual classes, of course, they're grouped together according to their native language to facilitate academic instruction. More English is used as the school year progresses but the native language is used to help them make that transition.

The need to use the first language to teach subject matter as he learns English is so apparent when a youngster comes to us and he is 14, 15, or 16. The situation is analogous to an American youngster who goes to Russia or China at age 14, 15 or 16 who has never studied Russian or Chinese before and he walks into a Moscow high school or Beijing High School No. 5. If they start speaking to him and his parents in Russian or Chinese, and they start teaching him subject matter without English support, nothing will be comprehended. It is reasonable to conclude that providing comprehensible instruction along with English instruction is extremely critical for a first year or second year immigrant youngster in America. I think that at Newcomer High School we concentrate upon comprehension, almost to a fault.

Although we feel it is necessary to use the native language to support the youngster's adjustment, we never forget that English is critical. We know that the kind of English that we're talking about is not just fluency — being able to converse, being able to make small talk. We're talking about academic English, the kind of English that you need to do well in college, to evaluate, to criticize, to make judgments, to voice your opinion. That kind of English requires a lot of study and a certain amount of cultural literacy in the American context. That takes time to acquire.

We know that in a year's time, Newcomer High School may not be able to bring a youngster up to the level where he or she can function in all English-speaking classes. We don't even recommend trying that. That's why when they go to the other high schools, like Galileo, Washington, and Mission, there are teachers and programs to provide continued bilingual ESL support. We certainly support that.

The feedback that we get from the other high schools in the system is that the youngsters that they receive from us are very motivated, very willing to learn, but they bring with them a lot of problems. Some of those problems will be addressed in later testimony by another faculty member who is here today. We are concerned that the futures of these youngsters are supported by the public schools. If we can provide a private school education in a public school setting, that would be the greatest achievement that San Francisco can provide.

We know for a fact that what these youngsters need is time, time in the school system, time to develop a sense of spontaneity about speech, making friends, having a vision of what their life will be in America, having an idea of what the ultimate goal of being a human being should be in this country. The San Francisco Unified School District will have them from the time when they arrive until the time when they achieve some independence. That period should be meaningful and productive.

We are very supportive of programs that build upon the work that we have done with these students. There's one thing that we can never forget — youngsters never graduate from Newcomer High School! We have mainly ninth and tenth graders. We have no seniors. We have a few eleventh graders. So we tell youngsters, "Don't expect to graduate from our school, but be proud that you're going to graduate from Galileo, or Mission, or Washington. That is where the action is. You will only get a very basic, one-year curriculum at our school. But if you can take with you the sense of self-confidence that you should have, the sense of wanting to be part of the mainstream, then you will have come a long way from that first day, when you were frightened and anxious and very concerned about your future." We try to pass the same message on to the parents.

New Voices has chronicled the problems of young immigrants in U.S. public schools. This chapter and the subsequent goal statements and recommendations provide a framework for thinking about how schools can be restructured to better serve these children. The proposed changes are profound. Some may find them overwhelming. It is true that even if all U.S. educators agreed to implement them, they would still take years to accomplish. Some may feel that suggesting such profound changes as the result of studying a relatively small group of two million students is not appropriate. However, the NCAS Immigrant Student Project calls for these changes for two reasons: because schools so dramatically fail most immigrant children, and because these changes will produce schools which serve all of our children better. It is important to begin.

*TheodoreSizer
Horace's Compromise*

“People learn at different rates, and substantive accomplishment should be the only product on which the school places importance. Age-grading, while bureaucratically neat, hurts children...as some youngsters develop more rapidly than others. Take young people where they are...and move them forward as efficiently as possible. How they compare with age-mates is a matter of secondary importance.”

The preceding chapters have documented the urgent and complex problems facing immigrant students in U.S. public schools. The scope of these problems is considerable, as must be the scope of solutions to address them.

Fundamental problems require fundamental solutions. The Project's basic prescription is no less than a restructuring of public schools — restructuring which allows the voices of all students to be heard. It has long been the practice of many public schools to silence students, particularly those who need most to be heard. To meet its future well, this nation needs schools which strive to raise the many voices of the children they serve, and which empower both students and communities.

Many issues raised in this study are familiar to those who have worked for years to make public schools serve the needs of poor, minority, or handicapped children. It is important to note that solutions to the problems of immigrant students will also be solutions for the problems of millions of native-born youngsters struggling alongside them. While all students will suffer until these difficult issues are addressed, it is likely that immigrant students will be among those who suffer the most.

An End to Silence

Project participants were struck by how often the issue of “silence” was raised during testimony and interviews — many kinds of silence. Children are silent when they have witnessed torture and death. They are slow to describe painful journeys. They are reluctant to acknowledge that because of circumstances which defy description, they may themselves have maimed and killed others. Other young silences have their roots in grief, loneliness, rejection by other children, and worries about survival. Immigrant children also grow silent in classrooms where they cannot understand or make themselves understood, and where harassment is a daily fact of life.

University of Pennsylvania researcher Michelle Fine (1987) believes that schools which silence minority students and communities actively contribute to their disempowerment:

“...simple, seamless pronouncements of equal opportunity and educational credentials as the primary mode of mobility are woven through the curriculum and pedagogy of urban high school classes. Silencing constitutes the process by which contradictory evidence, ideologies, and experiences find themselves buried, camouflaged, and discredited.

“Silencing sustains the belief in schooling as the mechanism for social mobility with contradictory evidence barred. And silencing diverts critique away from the economic, social, and educational institutions which organize class, race, and gender hierarchies. But the silencing process bears not only ideological or cosmetic consequence. These very demands permeate classroom life so primitively as to make irrelevant the lived experiences, passions, concerns, communities and biographies of low-income, minority students. In the process the very voices of students and their communities that public education claims to nurture, shut down.”

For example, Fine describes the silencing by a teacher of students, most of whom received federal, state, or city assistance: “You act like that, and you’ll end up on welfare.”

Fine believes silencing the real-life experiences of students creates costly conflicts. In a study conducted in a South Bronx high school “it was found that...students who were ‘successes’—those who remained in high school—when compared to dropouts, were significantly more depressed, less politically aware, less likely to be assertive in the classroom if they were undergraded, and more conformist” (Fine, 1983).

She suggests a series of questions which may have special significance for schools serving immigrant children:

“What if these voices, along with the chorus of dropouts, were allowed expression? If they were not whispered, isolated, or drowned out in disparagement, what would happen if these stories were solicited, celebrated, and woven into a curriculum? What if the history of schooling were written by those high school critics who remained in school and those who dropped out? What if the ‘dropout problem’ were studied in school as a collective critique by consumers of public education?”

The Project found that caring teachers have sometimes successfully ended the silences of immigrant students by patiently building trust, and encouraging them to speak and write about their memories. In some schools, the writings of immigrant students are valued, preserved and shared. At South Boston High School in Massachusetts, for example, immigrant students produce a moving, multicultural journal of poetry and prose entitled *Mosaics*. A similar journal, *Worldviews*, is produced by immigrant students in the Boulder, Colorado school system.

Holly Lockwood is the Program Coordinator of the Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services, a Boston-based organization which provides mental health and support services to immigrant students in several Massachusetts school districts. She points out important psychological reasons for ending the silences of young newcomers.

Holly Lockwood
Program Coordinator, MIGAS
Chelsea, MA

Many refugees who come into the United States have experienced a total loss of control over their lives during periods of war and persecution. They have been forced to flee their homelands, many have witnessed death and torture, some have been tortured. Their survival, physical and psychological, has depended upon their ability to keep silent. In order to succeed in this, their new home, refugees must put aside this behavior and take control of their lives again. It is important that teachers help refugee and other immigrant children find their voices again by encouraging them to speak and write, not only about what has happened, but about what is now happening to them.

"When *Mosaic*, a journal containing writings of immigrant students, was founded at South Boston High School, the first students to work on it were four severely depressed young people. The empowering effects of expressing their experiences are reflected by the fact that three of the four continued on to graduate from high school. All are successful adults, and one now coordinates a project serving Cambodian women who are victims of domestic violence."

Noting that school personnel often are most supportive of immigrant students during their first months in this country, Lockwood stresses that their second, third, and subsequent years here are often as traumatic as their initial experiences. While adaptive skills—such as language acquisition and cultural adjustment—often increase with time, emotional adjustment may worsen as dreams of life in this country give way to harsh realities. As a result, suicide attempts often occur later, rather than earlier, in the experience of immigrant students in U.S. schools (Stephen, *et al.*, 1985).

The Need for Time

We know for a fact that what these youngsters need is time, time in the school system; time to develop a sense of spontaneity about speech, making friends, having a vision of what their life will be in America, having an idea of what the ultimate goal of being a human being should be in this country."

Schools seeking to meet the needs of immigrant students, who may be learning in different ways at a different pace, must avoid the time traps generated by lockstep assessment, placement, and instructional procedures. Flexible strategies best accommodate differences in language, culture and learning style.

Advocates have identified some important premises that should underlie the evaluation of pupil progress for immigrant students (First, 1987):

- student achievement outcomes are important;
- standardized tests are not useful diagnostic tools;
- a child's learning process is best assessed using multiple evaluation tools, including observations made by teachers and curriculum-based assessments; and
- multi-disciplinary assessment activities may provide an important additional source of information useful in making decisions about a child's educational placement.

Paul Cheng
Principal, Newcomer High School,
San Francisco, CA

Appropriate Placement Practices

"I would like to address the inadequate assessment and placement policy for refugee children. The schools have generally placed children by age. If you are a certain age, you go into a certain grade. For the refugees, many students have spent years in camps where their education was interrupted — there's no school over there. And some have never gone to school, so when they come here and are placed by age, they face not only the language problem, they face the gap of information and knowledge which is not easily remedied.

"For the younger children it can be remedied quickly, but for the older child it is very difficult... I want to suggest a policy of placement based on proficiency rather than on age, which would require a fairly extensive battery of testing on many subjects, not just English ability. And then we place them appropriate to their proficiency, but also give them remedial education and help to expedite the catching-up process."

A recent study of immigrant children in California (Olsen, 1988) found that 40% of students interviewed believed they were placed at the wrong grade level. The author noted:

"Many found themselves, because of their limited English fluency, in classes repetitious of academic material already learned, or in classes based on their ages, regardless of their academic deficiencies. For example, assessed on English language fluency only, a non-English speaking 14-year-old from Japan with a rigorous prior education might need a calculus class, but be placed with a non-English-speaking Lao child with only two years of schooling in his life. Such inappropriate placement leads to academic and social problems for immigrant children."

Some placement problems experienced by immigrant students are an outgrowth of inadequate assessment policies and practices used by school districts. Others arise from the rigid structure of U.S. schools. California Tomorrow, a state-based advocacy organization, in its report *Crossing the Schoolhouse Border*, suggests a model intake and assessment program for immigrant students which may help prevent many inappropriate placements (see box, page 94.)

Witnesses at public hearings and immigrant parents and students interviewed by the Project expressed dismay over the ways schools make decisions about grade placements. Again and again, parents, students and advocates asked for more flexible and appropriate placements — very difficult to provide in schools where every child is expected to complete a predetermined amount of learning within a given scholastic year. When the immigrant student's need for more time collides with the school's inflexible structure, the child is frequently labeled a "failure" and directed to repeat a grade.

Elementary schools organized to avoid these problems would not tie grade structure to a young child's age. Instead, they would allow children to move at their own learning pace across a wide range of early childhood instructional options. Advocates believe that broadband, cross-age grouping would provide immigrant children the extra time they need, while protecting them from the humiliation of school failure.

Vin-Duc Vuong

Executive Director, Center for Southeast Asian Resettlement, San Francisco, CA

Model Intake and Assessment Program

*California Tomorrow:
Crossing the Schoolhouse Border*

- Assessment occurs within the first few weeks of enrollment in school.
- Assessment is done by staff with the language skills to communicate with registering students, and their parents, in the native language of the family.
- Assessment staff are trained, aware, and sensitive to the backgrounds and experiences of the incoming immigrant student population, and have comparative knowledge of the U.S. and other countries' educational systems.
- Good coordination and communication exists between assessors and school site personnel—teachers, administrators and counselors—where the child is placed.
- Regular in-service training and staff-sharing sessions take place to ensure the highest quality state of the art assessment procedures.
- Program coordinates with and regularly utilizes community and service agencies for support and referral.
- Evaluation encompasses English language oral proficiency, native language oral proficiency, reading and writing proficiency in both languages, and for those arriving after second grade, math and basic skill assessment, and prior educational background.
- A health unit is on-site or nearby to administer immunizations, TB screening, kindergarten physical examinations, and to evaluate special health problems that may present barriers to learning—hearing tests, vision tests.
- The assessment program has constant and good communications with district administrators both to provide information as a planning tool for programs and to ensure that the assessment program has proper support.
- Parents and students are provided orientation in their native language about the U.S. school system, the assessment and placement process, expectations, and services.
- Student progress at the school site is monitored, with ongoing assessment as necessary.

A structure which provides overlapping grade groups within the primary grades offers increased responsiveness to children's different learning rates. Student progression from group to group would be dependent upon the results of frequent curriculum-based assessments, rather than acquisition of a rigidly defined set of skills or a single test score (First, 1987).

Similarly, older students benefit from middle schools organized more like elementary schools and less like high schools (Howe, Edelman, 1985). Having a stable group of peers and teachers for at least part of the day may be especially supportive for immigrant children who are already struggling with many difficult adjustments.

Like intensive testing, the increased use of retention in-grade is an element of recent school reforms likely to be particularly troublesome for immigrants. While a recent Gallup Poll indicated that 72% of citizens surveyed felt "promotion from grade to grade should be more strict" (Gallup, 1986), research does not support the current widespread use of grade retention as a means of improving achievement.

Many schools operate on the assumption that repeating the standard curriculum will help an academically troubled child attain a level of competence expected for a certain grade level. However, the consistent conclusion of recent reviews of research on the effectiveness of retention is that "children make progress during the year in which they repeat a grade, but not so much progress as similar children who were promoted" (Smith, Shephard 1987).

Research also documents the negative effects of retention upon emotional adjustment and self-concept, and how repeating a grade both increases the cost of educating a student (Smith, Shephard 1987), and increases the likelihood of dropping out of school (Bachman, J.G., *et al.*, 1971). There are no longitudinal, federally collected data on retentions, but adjusted Census data for 1982 indicate that as many as 15% to 20% of all U.S. students repeat grades. (Smith, Shephard 1987).

Repeating a grade sends a clear message to a child that he or she is inadequate in comparison with others in the class. The result may be strong feelings of shame. Such an extra burden may be particularly difficult for immigrant children, who are already struggling to achieve difficult social, cultural and educational adjustments. Students who testified at Project hearings and were interviewed by Project staff often felt that their failure shamed not only themselves, but their families, and their ethnic community as well.

Sorting Practices

We must start by promoting a sense of conviction and commitment that these students can learn, that these parents do care. Commitment that we will do everything in our power to see that these students succeed."

Rosario Anaya
School Board Member, San Francisco, CA

As today's immigrant children enter U.S. schools, they encounter persistent grouping and tracking practices — a direct inheritance from their forerunners, the children of the last great immigrant wave at the beginning of this century.

Researcher Jeanne Oakes (1986), who participated in John Goodlad's important study of U.S. schooling, draws many parallels between today's social context and the one which accompanied the entrance of those earlier immigrant students into U.S. schools.

Then, as now, the U.S. was experiencing a surge of increased immigration. Then, the U.S. economy was undergoing a dramatic transition from cottage industry to industrialization; now the U.S. economy is shifting from an industrial to a service base.

And, writes Oakes: "Then as now, society looked to the schools for salvation. The expansion of a then quite rare institution — the free public high school — was seen as a solution to a whole array of problems, socializing new immigrants, providing an avenue for upward mobility, training workers for the factories, and providing proper supervision for foot-loose urban youth."

Turn-of-the-century educators did not know how to deal with the extraordinary diversity which the first great immigrant wave brought to their schools. The solution, Oakes points out:

“...was tracking and ability grouping — providing a differentiated curriculum to accommodate the needs of these ‘new’ students, as well as fulfilling the more traditional function of providing ‘high status’ preparation for upper class students...although no simple conspiracy was at work to consign poor and minority students to inferior and unequal schooling, high schools that were tracked along the lines of race and class provided an acceptable solution to the considerable social disequilibrium.

“Among the vast array of social forces, three sets of beliefs stand out as the rationale that reconciled differentiation with democracy: the belief in the immutability of vast differences between population groups, the belief that secondary schooling should serve as a preparation for work, and the belief that democratic principles required the extension of secondary schooling to all.”

Yesterday’s young newcomers experienced serious prejudice and lowered educational expectations. Lewis Terman, an early proponent of intelligence tests, concluded these mostly Catholic and Jewish European children had severely diminished capabilities: “Their dullness seems to be racial...children of this group should be segregated in special classes...they cannot master abstractions, but they can often be made efficient workers” (Terman, in Oakes, 1987).

Not all educators agreed with Terman, but eventually public schools were organized as if they did. Today that organization remains such an accepted part of U.S. schooling that few parents or teachers question it. Oakes reminds us that tracking, and inherent risk of discrimination, exists when:

- the intellectual performance of students is judged, and those judgments determine placement with particular groups;
- classes and tracks are labeled according to the performance levels of students in them — e.g. advanced, average, remedial — or students’ postsecondary destinations — e.g. college, preparatory, vocational;
- the curriculum and instruction in various tracks are tailored to perceived needs and abilities of students assigned to them;
- the groups formed are not merely a collection of different but equally-valued instructional groups; they form a hierarchy, with the most advanced tracks — and the students in them — seen as being on top; and
- students in various tracks and ability levels experience school in very different ways (Oakes, 1986).

Most public schools track children because of the widespread belief that students learn best in homogeneous groupings. Some also worry that lower-achieving children will become emotionally upset in heterogeneous instructional groups.

A number of recent reviews of contemporary research on tracking (Calfee and Brown, 1979; Esposito, 1973; Persell, 1987; Rosenbaum, 1980, in Oakes, 1987) have concluded there is little evidence to support these widely-held assumptions.

Oakes (1987) notes: "although existing tracking systems appear to provide advantages for students who are placed in top tracks, the literature suggests that students at all ability levels can achieve at least as well in heterogeneous classrooms." She adds that students who are not in top tracks "suffer clear and consistent disadvantages" from tracking.

Nor does research confirm that low-achieving students benefit from being "protected" from competition in mixed ability groups. On the contrary, some studies note that placement in low tracks generates student problems by lowering student self-esteem and teacher expectations (Rosenbaum 1971, in Oakes, 1987).

Tracking practices are particularly unfair to poor and minority students, who are placed in disproportionate numbers in low ability tracks and too seldom in programs for the gifted and talented (NCAS, 1987).

Immigrant students, who often experience initial social and academic difficulties in U.S. schools as the result of cultural and language differences, are at special risk for low track placements. Schools can actively support the educational success of immigrant students by "detracking" their curricula.

Goodlad and Oakes (1984), who examined tracking practices, found sharp differences in the quality of education between students placed in high or low tracks. These researchers urge schools to "detrack" by:

- reorganizing schools so students of similar ability are not grouped together for instruction;
- reconstructing the curriculum around central ideas and themes, rather than the usual "scope and sequence" approach;
- restructuring instruction to include cooperative learning and other strategies to facilitate learning in mixed-ability classrooms; and
- moving away from the basic assumption that some students can't or won't learn, and toward the assumption that all students can and will learn.

The notion that U.S. schools must be changed in important ways to successfully serve immigrant children is not new. A decade ago a "Theory of Incompatibilities" was developed by Jose Cardenas and Blandina Cardenas, based upon their work with Mexican-American students in Texas. (Cardenas, Cardenas 1977) They noted that school failure among this group of students was largely due to a lack of compatibility between the characteristics of those minority children and a typical instructional program in U.S. schools. They concluded that "to reverse the pattern of failure for non-typical children, it is necessary that the instructional program and the characteristics of the learner be compatible."

These researchers identified five areas of highly interactive student characteristics, and grouped them under five major headings: poverty; culture; language; mobility; and societal perceptions. They pointed to the need to reconcile these with ten elements of the school's education plan, created a matrix containing both student characteristics and elements of the education plan, then suggested that schools must make accommodations at the intersections if immigrant students are to succeed. This useful conceptualization can serve as a guide to schools struggling to accommodate today's immigrant students.

Special Education: Time for Amnesty

In Chapter 3, a particularly vexing set of issues in regard to special education placement for immigrant and limited English proficient (LEP) students was noted. Some of these children are handicapped and need special education services; others are not handicapped, but — in the words of researcher James Cummins — are inappropriately “deported” from mainstream programs to special education programs because they experience learning problems (1984).

Because language and cultural differences may obscure causes for academic difficulties, and assessment tools are often not culturally appropriate, schools that place LEP students in special education categorical programs for the mildly handicapped are often left with nagging questions about the validity of these placements. These worries are compounded by the fact that immigrant children frequently fail to thrive after special education placement.

The likelihood that immigrant children will be misplaced in special education programs is augmented by a growing national issue — overplacement of academically troubled students in categorical programs for the learning disabled (LD). For example, recent U.S. Department of Education data indicate a 5% increase in the total number of students placed in LD classes since the federal government collected the same data in the fall of 1984 (U.S. Department of Education, 1988).

A 1986 report by the Council for Great City Schools, entitled *Special Education: Views from America's Cities*, similarly documents large increases in LD placements in urban school districts. Education advocates worry that the drive in many communities to raise standardized test scores may result in over-referral of academically troubled students for special education consideration and placement, since special education students are not generally part of the standardized testing pool.

Certainly immigrant students who have significant physical and developmental handicaps can benefit from special education services, and school districts have a responsibility to provide them with timely and appropriate assessments and placement in classes where their needs will be addressed. Careful screening of immigrant children for vision and hearing defects is important. For example, some Cambodian children suffer deafness because of forms of torture which they experienced in their homeland.

A Troubled System

Since NCAS released *Barriers to Excellence: Our Children at Risk* (1985) which carried recommendations for special education reform, a national movement to restructure both regular and special education — as well as the nexus of the two systems — has gathered energy.*

Many advocates agree that restructuring the interface between “regular” and “special” education is overdue (Howe, Edelman, 1985). Specifically, the following are needed:

*This should not be interpreted to mean that NCAS supports placement of children in mixed categorical special education classrooms.

- use of special education resources to serve more children in mainstream settings;
- development and careful evaluation of integrated alternative service delivery systems;
- diminished reliance upon the "medical model" of student assessment which locates the cause of learning difficulties in the child;
- increased use of curriculum-based assessment procedures which provide diagnostic information enabling teachers to accommodate instruction which better meets the needs of students;
- a greater emphasis on implementing "effectiveness" principles in mainstream education, toward the goal of reducing special education referral rates.

Weak mainstream programs in regular education, serious disrepair in the "second system" delivering special education services, and rapidly expanding numbers of children who may not be handicapped, but do need special help — including immigrant children — are powerful arguments for restructuring schools.

Until necessary changes in special education policy and practice occur, local school districts can do much to protect against inappropriate placement of immigrant and other limited English proficient children in special education by following the guidelines for least-biased placement which appear in this study in Appendix C.

Positive School Climate

In Chapters 2 and 3, testimony was presented describing bitter intergroup conflicts found in many schools and communities. School personnel often express frustration about the degree to which such conflict exists. In many places, however, they are not so quick to acknowledge that there are steps which can be taken to lessen conflicts between groups of students and between students and teachers.

These steps include: providing visible administrative leadership which models respect for different languages and cultures; setting a firm expectation that harassment of students who are different will not be tolerated; integrating all groups of students for purposes of instruction and extracurricular activities; providing students with assistance in coping with socially threatening situations; and developing quality multicultural education programs.

Administrative leadership is a critical element in the development of positive school climate in schools with diverse student populations. Without instructional leadership, from the building principal or some other respected individual, curriculum and pedagogy are not likely to be modified in ways to enhance school success for immigrant and other minority students (Edmonds, 1982).

It is important that district superintendents and building principals clearly and frequently communicate to teachers and students that harassment of culturally different students is unacceptable, and will trigger swift disciplinary consequences. Superintendents should insist that principals set professional growth goals which include the reduction of harassment and intergroup tensions and be evaluated on how well they attain those goals. Similarly, principals should set professional growth goals for teachers which include development of a broad repertoire of teaching strategies and strong classroom management skills.

Finding Solutions

As principals and department heads evaluate teachers, they should take into account the numbers of immigrant and other linguistically and culturally different children each classroom teacher excludes from the educational mainstream by referrals for administrative disciplinary action, retention in-grade, or referrals for special education consideration.

Professional education advocates who compose the National Coalition of Advocates for Students have identified ten characteristics of schools which possess positive climates (First, 1987):

- when learning is disrupted, adults search for institutional and/or adult causes, rather than automatically blaming students, and are willing to work with students and their parents to solve problems without resorting to the exclusion of students;
- teachers are held accountable for student progress, rates of retention-in-grade, rates of referral for disciplinary reasons and/or special education consideration, and the degree to which students are engaged in active learning;
- individual differences are respected; adults make it clear that harassment of individuals who are "different" — by race, gender, ethnicity, language, sexual preference, or any other trait — is not tolerated;
- the school is measured against a broad quality standard which includes student achievement, rates of attendance, numbers and kinds of children who are suspended or expelled from school and/or referred for special education consideration, rates at which students are retained in-grade, and the degree to which students are engaged in active learning;
- a conscious effort is made to develop teacher leadership skills, to provide opportunities for teachers to participate in decision-making and to encourage collegiality among members of the teaching staff;
- administrators and parents monitor the school discipline system to be sure that there is not disparate impact upon minority and/or male students;
- teachers have well-developed classroom management skills and assume responsibility for dealing with most student disruptive behaviors themselves, rather than relying upon administrative referrals;
- the principal monitors special education referrals carefully to be sure that children are not being unnecessarily removed from the mainstream; teachers are required to exhaust regular education options before referring students for special education placement;
- student leadership development is a priority;
- students have an active and meaningful role in making decisions.

School Staffing

This report has chronicled the many ways in which the great immigration wave of the 1970s and 1980s has caught the U.S. system of public education unaware. The nation's teacher training institutions share that lack of preparedness. Many education colleges seem asleep at the switch, woefully unaware of their obligation to produce teachers who can sensitively and successfully instruct student populations that grow daily more diverse.

Teacher training institutions committed to producing teachers needed for tomorrow's classrooms will themselves recruit students from the ranks of new immigrant communities, provide ample educational opportunities for teachers-in-training to understand and experience other cultures, have courses in multicultural education, and stress the need for their students to develop a broad repertoire of instructional strategies, and a commitment to keeping culturally different children in mainstream educational programs.

Because of the constantly changing composition of the stream of students entering U.S. schools, both teacher training institutions and school systems also have a responsibility to steadily retrain existing staff to assure that they have necessary skills.

Witnesses at Project hearings had many suggestions about how teacher training, certification and recruitment must be changed if the existing teaching force is to become culturally sensitized and gain the instructional skills needed to help immigrant children succeed in school:

"...You really can't gain [sensitivity] in reality until you work in some of the schools. But you should not be thrown into a school situation...unless you've had a period of internship, so that you can learn about the community that you are going to work in under the guidance of someone who has that sensitivity and training."

Dr. Karen Shaw-Kerpen of the Refugee/Entrant Assistance program in New York City envisioned a new kind preparation for teachers of newly-arrived immigrant students:

"...professional curricula for all of those who are involved in educating refugee children...ought to be expanded to include a much broader awareness of the internal networks of other [community] agencies, of other nations, particularly those of the sending countries, [and a] much deeper understanding of what traditional cultures mean, the power they retain over people wherever they are, and how [they] help determine the ways adaptation to a new environment occurs.

"...[also] what acute and chronic psychological and social traumas occur to human beings who are terrorized, forcibly uprooted, and forced to flee their homeland. What the consequences of intervention in another country truly mean. What the processes of adaptation are, and how they can be influenced and directed. The profound role that families and kinship play in many of the nations and cultures that are coming here, and what the absence, death, or separation from the family network truly means [for] refugee children."

Marcos Garcia, staff member at Centro Presente, a community-based organization serving Central Americans in Cambridge, Massachusetts also spoke of the need for teachers who better understand the realities of their students' situations:

"They [teachers] have to do a workshop to educate themselves [so] they can learn better to teach, in order that they can get the sensibility to understand why these people are here. Because we are not here because...we want, or we could choose...no, that is not the reality."

A witness at the Boston hearing, spoke of the benefits that accrue when children find role models from their homeland in their schools:

"Culturally, in the school system, we have teachers...and that helps a lot, to have those kinds of role models, and to have the parents know that those kind of people exist...that it isn't just someone who speaks the language, but that there's someone there who is from Puerto Rico or Santo Domingo, or wherever. It gives [students] a feeling of alliance that I think is very important."

Ronald Jones
United Federation of Teachers,
New York, NY

Karen Shaw-Kerpen
Refugee/Entrant Assistance Program,
New York, NY

Marcos Garcia
Centro Presente, Cambridge, MA

Finding Solutions

Ruth Rosow
Teacher, Dade County Public Schools, FL

Ruth Rosow, a teacher in the Dade County, Florida schools, noted that administrative leadership is a crucial factor in building a school staff that is culturally and linguistically similar to its student body:

"I have an administrator, a principal, who sees the need and is trying to create a [recruitment] program. And it is he who spends the money, really...the school board does not have [such] a program. It has taken almost three years for him to find the Haitian teachers...certified Haitian teachers, that we now have on the staff."

Massachusetts Commissioner of Education Harold Reynolds acknowledged the great complexity of appropriately staffing diverse schools when he testified in Boston:

Harold Reynolds
Massachusetts Commissioner
of Education

"Teachers are not interchangeable. An education for a teacher should take into consideration where that teacher is going to work. Teaching in this state can vary enormously, not only in terms of the subject, or the age level, but [also] the conditions in the community."

Other witnesses and members of the Project's National Advisory Panel described the shortages of bilingual and bicultural teachers and aides experienced in some communities, and the need for other school districts to try harder to locate staff that provides culturally appropriate role models for students, and to adapt affirmative hiring practices.

Because bilingual, bicultural paraprofessionals often play a key role in schools that have a significant number of immigrant students, the Project's National Advisory Panel noted that there is a clear need for paraprofessionals to be:

- protected from discrimination and harassment;
- adequately paid for their work;
- encouraged to become professional educators through career ladder structures and other incentives.

Comprehensive Support Services

Millions of immigrant students are entering U.S. schools; many thousands will drop out before high school graduation. The numbers who do finish school will be indirectly affected by the extent to which a variety of critical non-academic supports are available to them, including:

- early childhood education programs, accompanied by effective outreach to parents;
- access to comprehensible guidance and counseling services;
- access to mental health services;
- access to primary health care;
- day care programs for the children of students, so their parents can complete their education—especially in schools which have large numbers of students from cultural groups such as the Hmong, where marriage in early adolescence is the rule;
- access to comprehensive vocational counseling.

As already noted in Chapter 3, a special Commission on Precollege Guidance and Counseling of the College Board found that counseling and guidance programs in the schools are often in a state of disrepair.

Specifically, the Commission found that recent school reforms had neglected this area of public education, that counseling staff is frequently misused in schools, and those who most need quality counseling services are often least likely to get them.

The Project supports these findings and the recommendations made by the College Board Commission, which will result in an improvement in the quality of school guidance services. Additionally, action is needed to meet the special needs of immigrant students. For these students, the guidance department may be a critically important place. Availability of quality, comprehensible counseling services for immigrant students is essential for several reasons:

- suicide attempts by immigrant students are all too frequent;
- crisis intervention should be an ongoing process in schools attended by students experiencing the effects of post-traumatic stress syndrome;
- schools cannot provide all the support services these children need; they must draw upon resources provided by community agencies, especially to ensure the provision of physical and mental health care services.

Recommendations of the College Board Commission on Guidance and Counseling follow. Actions which school districts can take to meet the needs of immigrant students appear in parentheses following each recommendation.

1. Establish a broad-based process in each local school district for determining the particular guidance and counseling needs of the students within each school, and for planning how to best meet these needs. *(Involve immigrant parents, or staff from community-based immigrant advocacy organizations.)*
2. Develop a program under the leadership of each school principal that emphasizes the importance of the guidance counselor as a monitor and promoter of student potential, as well as coordinator of the school's guidance plan. *(Bilingual/bicultural staff and representatives of immigrant communities should participate in that planning.)*
3. Mount programs to inform and involve parents and other members of the family influential in the choices, plans, decisions, and learning activities of the student. *(Informational materials should be produced and disseminated in native languages. When immigrant parents are illiterate in their native language, it may be necessary for the schools to communicate with them through bilingual, bicultural outreach workers and community-based immigrant self-help and advocacy organizations. Schools should be sensitive to the fact that "influential family members" must be broadly defined where immigrant students are concerned. Functionally, they may include grandparents, older siblings, family friends, advocates, and/or staff from community-based immigrant self-help organizations.)*
4. Provide a program of guidance and counseling during the early and middle years of schooling, especially for students who have traditionally not been well-served by the schools. *(Bilingual counselors and counselor aides are essential.)*

5. Strengthen collaboration among schools, community agencies, colleges, businesses and other community resources to enhance services available to students. *(Strong linkages with community resources are essential. Some schools with sizeable immigrant student populations provide offices on their campuses for community mental health agency personnel.)*
6. Establish a process in each state to determine the guidance and counseling needs of specific student populations and give support to local initiatives that address these needs. *(Involve bilingual/bicultural staff representatives of immigrant self-help organizations in the development of these initiatives.)*
7. Increase support of federal programs that help disadvantaged students to enter and remain in college. *(Federal leadership is needed to assure access to higher education for undocumented students, who now do not have access to financial aid or supportive admission policies.)**
8. Revise the training of school counselors to include the specific skills and knowledge necessary to enable them to take a more central role in schools. *(Provide counselors with training designed to familiarize them with the cultures of their students, and bilingual counselor aides to provide personal support and information to immigrant students are needed.)*

Health Care

As already noted, many immigrant students have mental health problems. Resolution of these problems is complicated because entire family units have often experienced the same trauma in the homeland and during the journey to this country. As the result, whole families living in U.S. communities may experience the same symptoms, such as depression, anxiety, and problems with sleep. The school can serve as an important coordinator of services to assist the healing process.

Schools with significant populations of immigrant children, many of whom are poor, will also be confronted with physical health problems. The need for preventive health education and crisis intervention are important. Preventive health education priorities include nutrition, family life education, and alcohol abuse prevention programs. Most U.S. schools are planning AIDS prevention education programs for their students. It is important that immigrant students have access to information in their own language about how to protect themselves from this deadly disease.

School districts in the lower Rio Grande Valley developed expanded school health programs headed by bilingual school nurses who work with immigrant families to see that children receive inoculations and get the medical care they need. The Brownsville, Texas Independent School District, with an enrollment of 33,966 children — almost all of whom are low-income and Spanish-speaking — has 48 school nurses on its payroll. These nurses also play an important role in providing health education to parents.

As noted in Chapter 3, many parents and immigrant advocates spoke of the need for more affordable and higher quality day care. School districts working to restructure their programs to better support the school success of immigrant students — and to lower the dropout rate — will want to consider provision of on-site day care services for children or younger siblings of high school students.

*For update see supplemental publication, "Legal Rights of Immigrant Students and Their Parents."

This will be especially true if their immigrant students come from cultures where early adolescent marriage and childbearing are culturally accepted. School personnel eloquently described to Project staff the special needs of Hmong communities in this regard. Young Hmong women enter into traditional arranged marriages in their early teens. By their mid-teens, they may have children and have to leave school to care for them. As young husbands and wives undergo the acculturation process, arranged marriages often fail. Very young women may then find themselves uneducated, divorced and responsible for supporting several children. When schools provide day care programs for children of such students, they are encouraged to stay in school and graduate, helping to break a cycle of probable poverty.

After High School

Some young immigrants will move on to higher education, succeed there, and become competent professionals. For those many newcomers who do not attend college, however, supports are needed. In January 1988, a special commission supported by the W.T. Grant Foundation issued a preliminary report entitled *The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America* (Howe, 1988). Many of its recommendations have special implications for immigrant students who will not attend college. Those recommendations, along with comments about their particular applicability for young newcomers, follow:

1. **Monitored Work Experience:** including cooperative education, apprenticeships, internships, pre-employment training, and youth-operated enterprises.
2. **Community and Neighborhood Service:** including individual voluntary service and youth-guided services. Such programs can help to familiarize young immigrants with the adult work world in the U.S., and with the requirements of good citizenship.
3. **Redirected Vocational Education:** although not proven effective in preparing youth for specific jobs, it can be a useful way to provide immigrant youth with general abilities supportive of success in the work world.
4. **Incentives:** including guarantees of postsecondary and continuing education, guaranteed employment and guaranteed training for students who do well or show promise; this can encourage young people to work hard and succeed in school.
5. **Career Information and Counseling:** can help youth to understand work options; to be helpful to immigrant youth, these must be provided in languages they understand.
6. **School Volunteers:** including tutors; tutoring is the most common form of school volunteer activity, and may be especially helpful to immigrant youngsters if provided by bilingual/bicultural individuals who also serve as role models.

Components of Quality Bilingual Education Programs

*By Hernan LaFontaine,
Superintendent of Schools,
Hartford, CT*

1. Clearly articulated goals.

Goals of the bilingual program should be clearly articulated and understood by everyone participating in the program, including school board members, the district superintendent and central office administrators, principals, teachers, paraprofessionals, school support staff, parents, and students.

2. Identification and assessment of students.

The language proficiency of all students is assessed, so that children can be placed in appropriate educational programs. Districts are careful to identify problems which may be disguised, or hidden, and ensure that the full range of language skills — not just oral production ability — are assessed.

3. Appropriately designed program.

Program design depends on students and their unique needs, and to some extent, on the resources available to the district. The instructional approach selected should take into consideration the specific language needs of those to be served, and must be based upon expert research. The program should provide the fullest access possible to the school curriculum while LEP children are learning English. It should concentrate on providing quality instruction. Care should be taken to provide LEP children with access to special programs where needed and to supportive services such as those provided by counselors, school psychologists and social workers.

4. Qualified and well-trained staff.

Qualified staff should be recruited and assigned to the program. The district should provide a well-designed and continuing program of in-service training for instructional personnel. This may or may not include assistance in developing non-English language skills, depending upon the type of program chosen. Teachers with emergency credentials or temporary waivers who do not meet regularly established qualifications should be used sparingly, and only when good faith efforts to recruit fully qualified teachers have been unsuccessful.

Empowering Students and Communities

Research and advocacy experience confirm that some schools consistently empower minority students, while others effectively "disable" them. Canadian researcher James Cummins (1986) is convinced that schools which empower minority students have teachers who have personally redefined their own relationships with minority children and their communities.

School success for these children may be strongly affected by three sets of interactions: between teachers and students; between schools and minority communities; and intergroup power relations within the broader society (Cummins, 1986).

Within empowering schools:

- minority students' language and culture are an integral part of the school program;
- minority communities participate in the education of their children;
- teaching strategies motivate children to use language actively to generate knowledge; and
- assessment strategies do not assume the student is the cause of academic problems.

5. Availability of appropriate instructional materials.

Textbooks and other curricular materials appropriate to the program must be available to teachers and students. If a bilingual approach is used, instructional materials, readers, and library books in the students' native languages should be available. Instructional materials in English should be specially designed for second language learners, not simply low-skill level materials designed for native-English speakers.

6. Strong evaluation and research component.

All programs should be evaluated in order to determine how well the model is implemented. While this sounds obvious, many programs in practice bear little resemblance to the model. This has been the case for many "bilingual" programs which, in theory, were to provide a certain percentage of instructional time in the primary language, and use bilingual instructors. In practice, some of these programs use minimal amounts of the primary language, and employ monolingual English-speaking teachers. If the program is evaluated by the model rather than by its actual practice, it can appear that bilingual education has failed, when, in fact, the actual shortcoming was a failure to implement the model. All programs should collect data on participating students, both during and after their participation in the project. All should document their programs and demonstrate that the selected model has been implemented according to program design and provided with adequate resources to carry out its goals.

7. Parental and community involvement.

Provisions for parental input and attempts to gain community support are essential for any program. School notices and information about the program should be made available to parents in a language and form they can understand, regardless of whether or not the program is implemented as a bilingual model. LEP parents often have limited English language skills themselves and may be best able to help support their children's education if the district can provide parent education or English classes for adults, or coordinate the delivery of these services through community colleges or community-based organizations.

Empowering teachers see their task as adding a second language and culture to their students' experience, rather than replacing the primary language and culture with a new one. Such teachers don't necessarily instruct immigrant students in their first language, but they do communicate a clear message to these students that their primary language and culture are valued (Cummins, 1986).

Cummins also suggests new ways to think about how minority communities can participate in the education of their children. He does this by placing the behavior of individual teachers along a "collaborative-exclusionary" continuum:

"Teachers operating at the collaborative end of the continuum actively encourage minority parents to participate in promoting their children's academic progress both in the home and through involvement in classroom activities. A collaborative orientation may require a willingness on the part of the teacher to work closely with mother-tongue teachers or aides in order to communicate effectively, in a noncondescending way, with minority parents. Teachers with an exclusionary orientation, on the other hand, tend to regard teaching as their job and are likely to view collaboration with minority parents as either irrelevant or detrimental to children's progress."

Cummins cautions schools against providing at-risk students with intensive instruction which induces a state of "learned helplessness." He contrasts classroom interaction which encourages instructional dependence with instruction which "liberates students...by encouraging them to become active generators of their knowledge."

Most teachers in U.S. schools spend much of their teaching time telling their students what they think they should know. Cummins argues that this should change; that teachers should use a reciprocal interaction model of instruction. This "requires a genuine dialogue between student and teacher in...oral and written modalities, guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher, and the encouragement of student-to-student talk in a collaborative learning context."

Finally, Cummins urges school psychologists and special educators to abandon the popular "medical model" for assessing the cause for learning difficulties. Traditionally, school psychologists and special educators search within the child for causes of school failure. Instead, these professionals should become advocates who press for changes in the child's instructional program when learning breaks down.

Building Bridges of Language

Jackie Goldberg
Board of Education, Los Angeles Unified
School District, CA

“At the high school where I teach, on one side of the campus are the ESL classes. We hear all these kids, native Spanish speakers, speaking fluent, beautiful Spanish. On the other side of the campus are the English-speaking students learning Spanish. Why wouldn't we think of putting them both in the same room—let the Spanish speakers learn English from the native English speakers, and the native English speakers learn Spanish from the native Spanish speakers? Not a chance.”

During two years of research, every immigrant student and parent the Project encountered acknowledged the importance of learning English. At the same time, most shared a deep desire to preserve their first language and culture. A recent California study (Olsen, 1988) found that “8% of immigrant students interviewed wanted to retain their first language. A witness at the San Francisco hearing summed up the situation well:

“Virtually all immigrants, children as well as adults, have a strong incentive to learn English. Whether and how well they learn the language depends far more on the opportunities available to them than on any lack of desire on the part of the immigrants.”

Harvard University researcher Catherine Snow and Kenji Hakuta of Yale University (1987) note the ironic nature of the continuing conflict between opponents and proponents of bilingual education:

“Bilingual education in its present form may be one of the greatest misnomers of educational programs. What it fosters is monolingualism; bilingual education classrooms are efficient revolving doors between home language monolingualism and English monolingualism. Were it not for the name, the champion of English monolingualism on American soil could not have found a better friend....The bottom line of all of these [bilingual] programs has been an almost single-minded interest in the extent and the efficiency of English proficiency development.”

Snow and Hakuta separate “the costs of monolingualism” into those borne by society and those borne by the individual.

Costs to society include:

- **Educational Costs:**

"We need to devote teachers, school time, and part of the educational budget to foreign language training. Furthermore, American schools are notoriously poor in foreign language training, and the resultant levels of fluency and correctness of foreign language students are much lower than those of children who have learned these languages at home."

- **Economic Competitiveness:**

"American multinational businesses and foreign service and intelligence operations are severely hampered by the low numbers of Americans competent in languages other than English."

- **National Security Costs:**

"Millions of dollars are spent annually training foreign service personnel, military personnel... in foreign languages."

Costs to the individual include:

- **Time and Effort:**

"It takes time and effort, commitment, motivation and hard work to learn a foreign language in high school, and much less effort just to maintain a language already learned at home."

- **Cognitive Cost:**

"There is some evidence suggesting that monolingual children are missing out on an opportunity to develop an early appreciation of language that results in better ability to perform well on tasks requiring linguistic and cognitive flexibility."

For immigrant students and their families, the gap between the need for bilingual education research findings and the services actually available in public schools represent a crisis of major proportions. Many hearing witnesses focused on this issue, as did many of the immigrant parents and students the Project interviewed:

"I have studied the issue now for probably ten years, and the conclusion to which I've come after that amount of study and research, is that the best way we know of teaching English is through good bilingual education."

*Patricia Gandara
Assembly Office of Research,
Sacramento, CA*

"If we talk about the positives of being multilingual or of being sensitive to people of different backgrounds and to respect not only the Irish and the Italian, but also to respect and incorporate the Hispanic and Laotian, then I think that you begin talking about changing attitudes."

*Margarita Alvarez
Assistant Headmaster,
Harrington School, Cambridge, MA*

The Project found bilingual programs in common use in U.S. schools to range from very minimal English-as-a-Second-Language models — providing inadequate English acquisition instruction taught by monolingual, English-speaking teachers using English texts and materials — to high quality two-way bilingual programs enjoying enthusiastic support from students, educators, and parents. There are far more of the former than the latter.

The project also found that many school districts offer no special services for limited English proficient students. While school districts, especially small and medium sized districts, argue that bilingual education is impractical, a recent U.S. Government Accounting Office report estimated that only 22% to 26% of LEP students are in schools where bilingual education is truly impractical due to very small numbers of children in a given language group (GAO, 1987).

Description of Language Assistance Programs

● Structured Immersion

Children are taught in English, but with several differences from submersion. The teacher understands the native language and students may speak it to the teacher, although the teacher generally answers only in English. Knowledge of English is not assumed, and the curriculum is modified in vocabulary and pacing, so the content can be understood. Some programs include some language-arts teaching in the native language (GAO, 1987). This model is more effective for majority children attempting to learn a second language than for minority, LEP students. (Cummins, 1984).

● English as a Second Language (ESL)

ESL programs borrow heavily from techniques used to teach foreign languages to adults. Two major drawbacks of ESL instruction are: it is usually provided in a "pull-out" program for a brief daily period and does little to provide students with access to a comprehensible curriculum; and because it uses instructional strategies developed for use with adult learners, it is not especially appropriate for young children illiterate in their native languages (LaFontaine, 1987).

● Sheltered English

In this model, every lesson in every school subject becomes, in part, a language lesson. Vocabulary and language skills are taught in tandem with relevant concepts. The best sheltered English programs have a language development emphasis which permeates the entire curriculum. LaFontaine (1987) identifies some drawbacks to this approach: teachers must be skilled in providing both second language acquisition and language development instruction; using "sheltered" English is more difficult than providing basic instruction in the child's native language because twice as much must be taught and the teacher may not be able to match instruction to the student's existing knowledge base.

● Transitional Bilingual Education

The Bilingual Education Act defines transitional bilingual education as "structured English language instruction, and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to achieve competence in the English language, instruction in the child's native language." Ideally, access to a comprehensible curriculum is assured by providing basic instruction in the child's native language until English competency and comprehension in speaking, writing, and reading are assured.

● Two-Way Bilingual Education

In this model, minority students are provided traditional bilingual education — instruction in their native language with gradual increments of English. English monolingual students are placed in the same program and thus immersed in the foreign language spoken by the minority students. By third grade, both groups of students receive equal amounts of instruction in English and in the foreign language. A major strength of two-way bilingual programs is that both groups of students act as linguistic models for each other. (Snow, Hakuta 1987).

● Maintenance Bilingual

Instruction is designed to provide improved language skills in English, as well as the native language.

Even when schools provide strong support for English language acquisition, Snow and Hakuta conclude that young children do not learn a new language very quickly.

Several researchers suggest that some instructional strategies are more successful than others with immigrants and other LEP students. Canadian researcher James Cummins (1984) argues that reliance on a "transmission" model of teaching LEP students is a mistake. Rather, he suggests instruction in the bilingual classroom should be highly interactive, characterized by:

- genuine dialogue between students and teachers, using both oral and written communications;
- guidance and facilitation of student learning, rather than control by the teacher;
- encouragement of student-to-student talking as learning occurs in a collaborative fashion;
- integration of language use and development with curriculum content, rather than teaching language in isolation from other subjects;
- focusing upon cognitive skills, rather than simply asking students to recall facts;
- presenting tasks which stimulate internal, rather than external motivation.

Researcher Lily Wong-Fillmore (1985), who finds the acquisition of second language skills to be more difficult for children than is popularly believed, concludes:

"...contrary to conventional wisdom—second-language learning is not easy and automatic for children. Children, like adults, engage in a great deal more trial-and-error, ad hoc hypothesis testing, and awkward experimentation than second language theorists and educators realize. It takes some children six or seven years to master forms and uses of a new language, and some never succeed. Even in the classroom context where children are daily exposed to the new language and teachers, presumably, are helping them to learn it, the process is a difficult and frustrating enterprise for many of them.

"In a recent study of high school dropouts among minority-language children, Steinberg, Blinde, and Chan (1984) noted that individuals from homes where English is not spoken are almost twice as likely to drop out before graduation from high school than are individuals from homes where English is the primary language."

Wong-Fillmore (1985) studied language acquisition patterns of Chinese and Hispanic students and found that different patterns of educational success found between various cultural groups may result from:

"cultural matches and mismatches between group learning styles and school teaching methods and conditions. It was clear that the conditions that favored language development for the Hispanic subjects were sufficiently different than those favoring the Chinese subjects. Hispanic students were much more sensitive to the quality of instruction they received than were the Chinese who—from all evidence—tended to compensate for teacher differences."

She found that Chinese children responded best to teacher-directed learning in quiet, tightly controlled, work-oriented classrooms. Hispanic students responded best to environments that were group-centered and featured cooperative learning in somewhat more open, socially oriented classroom environments.

“...the differential patterns of educational success that have long been observed between cultural groups...may be due to cultural matches and mismatches between group learning styles and school teaching methods and conditions...the importance of cultural factors, then, cannot be overemphasized...”

Snow and Hukauta (1987) worry that children who are moved too quickly into a monolingual English classroom setting may be seen as “slow learners, as dyslexic, as learning disabled, or as just stupid by teachers who are unaware that their control of English is simply inadequate.” They caution:

“Clearly, if we are going to mainstream non-English speakers prematurely we must at least postpone diagnosing, classifying, or grouping them based on their performance in their second language.”

Federal Funding Sources for Programs Serving Immigrant Children

1. The Bilingual Education Act, which became part of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Funds from this source support a variety of educational programs for non-English-speaking students.
2. The Transitional Program for Refugee Children (TPRC) is being phased out. It has supported programs which provided supplemental educational services for officially designated “refugee” children who have been in the U.S. for a short period of time.
3. The Emergency Immigrant Education Program (EIEP) provides federal assistance to school districts which have at least 500 students are recently arrived immigrant children. The program was established in 1984; funding has been extended only until 1989.
4. Chapter 1, ECIA, provides support (mostly at the elementary level) for compensatory education services for poor children.
5. The Migrant Education Program, Part of federal Chapter 1, ECIA support services to children whose parents are employed in agriculture or fishing industries — only about 3% of immigrant students.
6. ESEA Title VII supports services for limited English speaking students, special transitional bilingual education programs, and model literacy programs for families.
7. Section 204 of IRCA, known as SLIAG, provides federal assistance to reimburse states, in part, for the costs of certain human, health, and educational services provided to persons who legalize.⁴

Non-federal sources of support for programs serving immigrant students vary from state to state.

"English Plus": A Realistic and Achievable Goal

The provision of "English-Plus" services to all children not fluent in English is a realistic and achievable goal. Access to "English-Plus" would require existing ESL programs to be supplemented by a variety of other strategies, depending upon the available human resources. These may include native language teachers, peer and adult tutors, aides, volunteers, and mentors to provide necessary language supports for LEP children as they learn English and other subjects in an all-English program (LaFontaine 1987).

A strong commitment to "English-Plus" is important for several reasons. It provides immigrants and other LEP students with improved access to a comprehensible education while they learn English. It validates the child's own language and culture by providing role models — thus bolstering self-concept and future aspirations — and implies the presence of counselors and assessment personnel who can communicate with the child in his or her native language, and who are familiar with out-of-school resources, such as mental health services, with the same capability.

Schools in urban areas, and others with large numbers of LEP students who speak the same first language, have a rich opportunity to implement two-way bilingual education programs. In many communities, quality two-way bilingual programs enjoy a strong popularity with parents and students.

One Boston witness described the parental enthusiasm for two-way bilingual programs:

"...[in] a major survey...an astonishing proportion of parents of all racial and ethnic groups indicated they would send a child to the school if learning another language was an option."

All schools with immigrant students, ranging from those where young newcomers are in the majority to those which have only a few immigrant children, have a legal and moral obligation to fulfill the spirit of the *Castaneda* decision (see Appendix D).

Capitalizing on Cultural Strengths

"Our children are our curriculum. I think that taking the positive aspects of students and where they are coming from, and sharing that with everybody else, you already have a multicultural curriculum."

The Project found the positive acceptance of immigrant students reflected in the statement above to be the exception, rather than the rule. Both the demographics and the testimony demonstrated that the creation of multicultural learning environments must be faced by U.S. public schools as they emerge into the 21st century.

While the Project found some good multi-cultural programs which serve only immigrant students at the high cost of removing them from the mainstream, it did not find many ordinary schools engaged in significant efforts to adapt curricula and teaching strategies to meet the needs of their growing multi-cultural student populations.

Charles Glenn
Director of Equal Educational
Opportunity, Massachusetts State
Department of Education

Margarita Alvarez
Assistant Headmaster, Harrington
School, Cambridge, MA

More commonly, educators described frustrated attempts to get beyond "one hero, two foods and three holidays." The Project found that a majority of U.S. schools attended by immigrant students have not yet begun the transition they must inevitably make, and are paying for that apathy with high levels of interpersonal and intergroup conflict involving both teachers and students. Equally tragic are high rates of immigrant student failure already described, which are enormously costly in both individual and societal terms.

One of the Project's most perplexing findings was widespread denial by teacher training institutions of the profound and permanent changes which this immigration wave is causing in U.S. schools. In 1984, John Goodlad wrote about the "stunning and little understood conclusion" that California would soon be "the first Third World state in the continental United States." While Goodlad acknowledged that "schools cannot create a new social order," he concluded that "wringing our hands over society's shortcomings does not absolve us from eliminating whatever blocks students' access to knowledge."

In preceding chapters, witnesses shared their views about the need for a new kind of multi-cultural education in U.S. public schools. High rates of failure among immigrant minorities, as well as severe intergroup tensions in schools and communities demand transformation of public school curricula and pedagogy. Even beyond these reasons, Robert Suzuki (1984) argues:

W...the biases in the socio-cultural milieu of the schools are victimizing all students...by inculcating and reinforcing prejudicial attitudes and values in students, these biases contribute indirectly to the perpetuation of misunderstandings, tensions and conflicts between groups that act to the detriment of society as a whole."

Quality multi-cultural education programs can make an important contribution to the "re-making of America" by helping students to:

- learn to respect and appreciate cultural diversity;
- overcome ethnocentric and prejudicial attitudes;
- understand the socio-historical, economic, and psychological factors that produce ethnic polarization, inequality, and alienation;
- learn to critically analyze and make intelligent decisions about real-life problems and issues through a process of democratic inquiry;
- help them to conceptualize a vision of a better society and acquire the necessary knowledge, understanding, and skills to enable them to move the society toward greater equality and freedom, the eradication of degrading poverty and dehumanizing dependency, and the development of meaningful identity for all people (Suzuki 1984).

A New America

Chapter 1 opened with an eloquent quote from historian Vincent Harding urging this nation to have the courage and vision to meet its modern destiny. His words serve well to end this chapter:

“Now, as we dare to take responsibility for our own future as individuals and peoples...a moment of great possibility opens before us.

“Now, some of us who have been here for thousands of years, as well as some of us who came from Europe and from Asia, from Mexico and India, from Puerto Rico and the wide ranges of Latin America, may join with those children of Africa in the United States...together we may stand in the river, transformed and transforming, listening to its laughter and burning with its tears, recognizing in that ancient flow the indelible marks of human blood, yet grounded and buoyed by hope, courage and unfathomable, amazing grace. Keeping the faith, creating new faith, we may enter the terrible and magnificent struggle for the re-creation of America.”





Recommend-
ations

Project findings compel us to urge public officials at every level to enact immediate changes and begin long-range efforts to help newcomers successfully integrate into U.S. society.

All citizens share responsibility for reaching that goal. This nation is permanently changing; all of its people must change together. Immigrant communities offer fresh energy for our nation, rather than further evidence of it being at risk. Strong leadership is needed from those who do not fear diversity.

Most young immigrants bring to the United States a passion for freedom, for gaining economic and personal security, and for education. Without empowering experiences in U.S. schools, most will not attain these goals.

The following goal statements and recommendations are based upon findings of the NCAS Immigrant Student Project and a sister project conducted by an NCAS member group, California Tomorrow. Some recommendations are drawn from the California Tomorrow report, *Crossing the Schoolhouse Border* (Olsen, 1988).

Goals

- Ensure understanding on the part of parents, children and school personnel that all immigrant children have a legal right of access to a free, appropriate public education.
- Ensure equal access to educational opportunity by providing appropriate educational assessment and placement of immigrant students in public schools.
- Ensure that immigrant students have a fair opportunity at school success by restructuring those policies, structures and practices which impede their access to effective instruction and sort them into programs which prepare them for inferior futures.
- Empower immigrant students and communities by respecting native languages and cultures and supporting their retention, when that is the community's preference, and simultaneously provide those "English-Plus" services necessary to ensure that all immigrant students become competent in the use of English.
- Ensure that immigrant children, as well as their U.S-born peers, have school environments free of victimization, harassment, and intergroup conflict.
- Help ensure the emotional stability and mental health necessary for the school success of immigrant children by preventing unnecessary separation of family members, and by providing humane and proper treatment of unaccompanied children and youth.
- Promote the success of immigrant children and youth, in school and after, by providing a range of necessary support services.
- Develop qualified bilingual teachers, and retrain the present regular teaching force to have the skills and sensitivities necessary to successfully teach foreign-born students and prevent intergroup conflict.
- Improve the quality of schooling for immigrant students by creating a more equitable allocation of resources to the largely inner-city schools which serve them.

- Empower immigrant parents and communities to fully participate in the education of their children.
- Establish a strong constituency to advocate for effective, quality education for immigrant children in U.S. schools.

Recommended Action

To implement these goals, necessary actions by designated agencies include:

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

- Inform school officials of the rights of immigrant children established in *Plyler v. Doe*, emphasizing that school personnel cannot legally ask immigrants for documentation of their immigration status (other than students who have themselves come forward as F-1 Foreign Students — as defined by the INA).
- Refrain from entering school buildings in search of undocumented children and engaging in other action which may cause parents and students to distrust schools and school staff.
- Prepare in native languages, and disseminate to immigrant families legally entering the U.S., information about the educational rights of immigrant children and youth.
- Enforce with vigor all laws pertaining to the legal and educational rights of immigrant children and families.
- Release children held in detention to the custody of relatives or other responsible adults, or according to parents' written requests. When this is not possible, release children to the custody of appropriate state child welfare agencies or community self-help organizations. The policy of family reunification should be adhered to, unless it conflicts with the "best interests" of the child involved.
- In cases where short-term detention of children is unavoidable, provide health and educational services; inform youthful detainees of their legal rights; and prohibit incarceration of children with adults who are not family members. Treatment of minors should be in compliance with the American Correction Association Model Standards for Incarcerated Children.

U.S. Department of Education

- Provide leadership to ensure that U.S. public schools are restructured to make them fairer and more responsive to the needs of the remarkably diverse student populations they serve.
- Provide fiscal and other incentives to State Education Agencies to encourage the development of model centralized assessment centers capable of providing culturally and linguistically appropriate assessments of immigrant students.
- Fund research to explore alternatives to present tracking and other sorting practices, curriculum organization and teaching strategies, which undercut the likelihood of immigrant children experiencing school success.

Recommendations

- Provide financial and other incentives to state Departments of Education to encourage them to identify or develop, evaluate, and disseminate model programs which address the issues noted above.
- Provide adequate funding to ensure that every limited English proficient (LEP) student who needs language assistance services receives them.
- Require most bilingual education programs to be developmental in nature.
- Provide funding for training of bilingual education personnel.
- Provide fiscal and other incentives to states to support the development and dissemination of quality multicultural education and intergroup conflict reduction models.
- Incorporate collection of data about school disciplinary actions, special education placements, and retention in-grade for foreign-born students in the biennial Office for Civil Rights Elementary and Secondary School Survey; disseminate findings to the public.
- Investigate complaints to the Office for Civil Rights about the failure of school districts to provide services mandated by law in a timely manner.
- Alter policies which deny undocumented immigrants admission to institutions of higher education and access to student financial assistance.
- Support research and experimentation into alternative service delivery systems which do not require that immigrant and other children with learning difficulties be labeled handicapped in order to receive services.
- Monitor states' actions to enforce local compliance with PL 94-142 regulations in ways which focus upon program quality, procedural safeguards, and the need to remove language barriers to involvement of immigrant parents in educational decisions affecting their children.
- Enforce federal laws that require schools to involve parents in the education of their children.
- Increase support to federal programs which assist disadvantaged U.S.-born and immigrant students to enter and remain in college.
- Expand support for family English literacy programs, so parents will be better able to assist their children.

U.S. Department of Justice

- Provide additional skilled community-relations teams for crisis intervention and mediation activities where intergroup conflict is intense.
- Direct these teams to conduct parent training and intergroup relations seminars.

State Education Agencies

Necessary actions by State Education Agencies include:

- Ensure that all State Education Agency (SEA) and Local Education Agency (LEA) personnel understand the rights of immigrant children and families, including applicable federal and state laws (see Appendix D).

- Adopt policies which prohibit the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, or any other agency, from entering schools or collaborating with schools in ways which infringe upon the legal rights of immigrant children or cause children and families to mistrust the school and school personnel.
- Prepare and distribute to school districts native language materials for immigrant families explaining their rights and the procedures of the schools for enrollment, including the fact that it is illegal for school personnel to request information about legal status.
- Develop and disseminate to LEAs information about state of the art assessment procedures for immigrant students.
- Develop the capacity to assess children from cultural groups that are sparsely represented in the schools.
- Hire bilingual, bicultural staff for the State Education Agency, so that the perspectives of immigrant communities may be present as programs are developed and implemented.
- Structure internal training to be cross divisional. For example, it should involve special education and vocational education personnel, as well as those responsible for bilingual and migrant education.
- Provide committed leadership and competent technical assistance to LEAs as they work to change local policy and practices which are barriers to school success for immigrant students.
- Develop, evaluate, and disseminate to LEAs alternatives to the current practices of sorting children for instruction, organizing curricula, and instructing students which do not support the school success of immigrant students. Use these models in pre-service and in-service training of teachers and administrators.
- Collect data profiling the effects of tracking practices, school discipline actions, special education placements, and retention in-grade upon foreign-born students. Data should be analyzed by race, gender, ethnicity, nativity, length of time in the U.S. and English language proficiency, and disseminated in comprehensible form to immigrant communities.
- Develop and deliver to LEAs high-quality training designed to combat prejudice and help resolve intergroup conflict. Recognize the power of group processes and structure training so people from different cultures learn from each other.
- Develop and disseminate to LEAs model multicultural education curricula, and provide training for implementation by bilingual bicultural teams.
- Develop and provide training to LEAs which helps teachers and administrators broaden their understandings of other cultures.
- Develop, with assistance from bilingual bicultural staff, and disseminate model school codes appropriate for use in schools with significant numbers of immigrant children and youth.
- Provide skilled community relations teams capable of implementing crisis intervention activities when intergroup conflict occurs in schools.
- Train IEA staff to conduct school climate surveys and other broadly-based strategies for gaining insight into the causes and possible solutions for intergroup conflicts in schools.

Recommendations

- Remind LEAs of their continuing legal obligation to take necessary action to ensure limited English proficient (LEP) students have full access to the school's curriculum.
- Recognize the higher costs of educational services in metropolitan areas, where most immigrant children attend school, and of providing equality of opportunity to disadvantaged and limited English proficient (LEP) students.
- Address recent education reforms which have raised academic standards by providing the additional financing necessary to assure that immigrant students can successfully meet new standards.
- Develop and implement a state plan for the recruitment and training of bilingual teachers, including increased recruitment of candidates from the ranks of immigrant communities, and fiscal incentives.
- Alter policies to allow more foreign-educated teachers to become credentialed, and provide financial aid, loan forgiveness and other fiscal incentives designed to help overcome the current shortage of qualified bilingual teachers. Develop career ladders which make it possible for immigrant paraprofessionals to become professionals.
- Require all regular classroom teachers to have a methods course for teaching the foreign-born and limited English proficient, including second language acquisition theory and approaches, alternative teaching strategies and the background issues affecting immigrant children.
- Use learnings from experiences with language assistance programs for Spanish-speaking students as such programs are developed for other language groups. Don't, however, assume that the same instructional strategies will be equally effective for all LEP students.
- Encourage controlled experimentation by LEAs to develop alternative service delivery systems which do not require that academically troubled children be labeled as handicapped to receive help.
- Alter policies that deny undocumented immigrants admission to institutions of higher education and access to student financial assistance.
- Increase support to federal programs that help disadvantaged immigrant and U.S.-born students enter and remain in college.

Local Education Agencies

Necessary actions by local education agencies include:

To ensure educational access for immigrant students:

- Provide comprehensible information to immigrant parents about school matters. Information should be disseminated via print and electronic media, including native language publications and programs which regularly inform immigrant communities, through bilingual, bicultural outreach workers, and through community-based, immigrant self-help and refugee resettlement organizations.
- Establish an atmosphere that is open and welcoming to immigrant families. Train "front line" personnel, such as secretaries, to understand the legal rights of immigrant children and families and gain cultural sensitivity.
- Train child search personnel to provide a thorough understanding of legal and cultural issues affecting immigrant students.

- Provide bilingual, bicultural paraprofessionals to assist families with enrollment processes and assist them to locate necessary related services, such as immunization clinics.
- Adopt policies that prevent intrusions upon, or harassment of, children within school buildings by immigration officials or any other agency officials seeking contact with immigrant children.

To assure appropriate placement of immigrant students:

- Where significant numbers of immigrant children are present, create a centralized intake and assessment center, with a trained staff which includes bilingual/bicultural individuals. An alternative is mobile intake and assessment teams that travel to schools.
- Conduct evaluations of immigrant children that include oral, reading and writing proficiency and comprehension in English and the native language for those arriving after second grade, math and basic skills in both languages, and prior educational background.
- Conduct health evaluations on-site or at a nearby clinic, including vision and hearing screening, administration of TB tests and immunizations, and identification of special health problems.
- Refer children with significant physical handicaps to special education and to appropriate community agencies.
- Develop clear channels of communication between assessment center personnel and the rest of the school system.
- Provide a comprehensible orientation to the school system for students and parents, using bilingual/bicultural personnel or interpreters when necessary.
- Monitor educational progress of immigrant children following placement and provide additional assessments as needed.

To support academic success of immigrant students:

- Act upon research evidence that nearly all students learn equally well in heterogeneous classes, and develop heterogeneous groupings for instruction. Immigrant students are especially at risk for placement in low expectation tracks; additionally, detracked schools are also fairer for all minority students.
- Act upon research evidence that children who experience academic difficulties achieve better when promoted than when forced to repeat a grade, and on the strong connections between retention in-grade and dropping out; alter promotional policies accordingly. Because of the need to make difficult language and cultural adjustments, immigrant students seem especially at risk for being retained in-grade.
- Organize elementary schools so that children progress through broad-band, cross-age groupings, rather than rigid grade levels; organize middle schools so that they resemble elementary schools more than high schools. Schools organized in more flexible ways better accommodate immigrant students' frequent need for extra time.
- Evaluate student progress using broadly-based assessment techniques, rather than standardized tests. Important educational decisions about the future of an immigrant child should not be made on the basis of a single test, or on professional judgment alone.

Recommendations

- Restructure the curriculum away from a scope and sequence approach, and toward an organization which stresses central ideas and themes that become the focal point for student learning. Like other recommendations in this section, reorganization of curriculum would benefit most students. However, sequenced curriculum poses particular problems for immigrant students who are mobile.
- Restructure classroom instruction away from teaching strategies that depend upon teachers telling students what they think they should know and toward strategies which increase reciprocal interactions between teachers and students and among students, including cooperative learning approaches. First cultures of many immigrant students stress collaboration and cooperation, rather than competition.
- Provide "English-Plus" services to all limited English proficient (LEP) students. The "Plus" may range from respectful support of the student's primary culture and language to extensive instruction in the student's first language, depending upon need and available resources.
- Provide quality multicultural education for all students, even if no immigrant children are present in the classroom. Teaching children to respect and understand diversity should be a basic element in the curriculum.
- Publish and disseminate in a comprehensible form to immigrant parents data on achievement, retention in-grade and special education placements. Such data should be analyzed by race, gender, ethnicity, nativity, length of time in the U.S., and language proficiency.
- Ensure that pull-out or parallel programs which result in immigrant students being separated from the regular classroom because of language needs or the delivery of other special services are scheduled in alignment with the regular curriculum offerings.
- Provide an opportunity for students who immigrate during their high school years to take graduation examinations in their native language; base English language examinations upon the length of time that the student has been in the U.S.
- Provide foreign language credits to students with facility in their native language.
- Provide library books, textbooks and educational materials that reflect the cultural backgrounds of immigrant children in the school.
- Encourage immigrant children to tell their own stories, orally and in writing.
- Encourage second language acquisition for all students. Institute peer-taught programs so that language skills of immigrant children can enrich the learning of students who speak only English, and vice versa.
- Set a firm expectation that it is the task of teachers to supplement, not replace, the immigrant child's existing language and culture by teaching English.
- Require in-service training for regular classroom teachers in second language acquisition and theory, special needs of immigrant students, and raising expectations for foreign-born students.
- Whenever possible, provide immigrant students with native language instruction by a credentialed bilingual teacher until competency in English is adequately developed to ensure success in the monolingual classroom. When this is not possible, recruit and train bilingual/bicultural paraprofessionals to supplement instruction under the direction of a credentialed teacher. Create career ladders that enable paraprofessionals to become certified.

- Provide continuous in-service education for bilingual education personnel, both credentialed and non-credentialed; apply learning from current language assistance efforts serving Spanish-speaking groups to increasing numbers of other language.

To improve school climate:

- Develop district and building mission statements which express a strong commitment to the school success of immigrant students; work consistently to implement them.
- Hire bilingual/bicultural professional and paraprofessional staff, so that immigrant students have appropriate role models.
- Require administrators and teachers to model respectful treatment of all children and adults, regardless of racial or language minority status.
- Integrate immigrant students and U.S. born students in all instructional and extra-curricular activities; establish diversity as a positive factor in the classroom.
- Provide training for school staff and students designed to combat prejudice.
- Conduct school climate surveys to identify causes of intergroup conflict. Involve immigrant parents or representatives of immigrant self-help organizations in the development of questionnaires. Interview students from all groups in the school. Report findings back to immigrant communities in their first language. Involve all parties in implementing recommendations.
- Develop buddy systems, peer tutoring, and peer counseling activities which pair native-born and foreign-born students.
- Provide effective student leadership development programs; involve integrated groups of students in development of steps to improve school climate.
- Develop an accurate profile of the school status of immigrant children. Include information about achievement, school disciplinary actions, special education placements, retentions in-grade, and dropout rates. Compile data by nativity, length of time in the U.S., and language proficiency. Disseminate in a comprehensible form to immigrant parents, immigrant self-help and refugee resettlement organizations.

To meet special needs of immigrant students:

- Ensure access to comprehensible counseling and guidance services by hiring and training bilingual/bicultural counselors and counselor aides to provide immigrant students with sympathetic intermediaries.
- Involve bilingual/bicultural school staff, parents, and immigrant community leaders in the development of school-based guidance plans.
- Establish peer discussion and support groups for students from war-torn countries and those who have experienced trauma while traveling to the U.S.
- Encourage and actively support the formation of in-school and extracurricular support clubs for immigrant students; be sure that they enjoy full access and participation in all extracurricular activities.
- Involve members of the student's family, or representatives of self-help organizations that help newly-arrived families bridge cultures, to plan for the student's future in school and beyond.

Recommendations

- Forge linkages with a variety of community-based resources, advocacy, and self-help organizations to ensure the availability of physical and mental health services for immigrant children and families. AIDS prevention education should be presented in the student's primary language unless he or she is fully competent in English.
- Provide on-site space for community mental health service providers.
- Contract with community-based organizations to provide a variety of support services.
- Provide day care services for the younger siblings and children of immigrant students.
- Provide early childhood education programs, accompanied by effective outreach to immigrant parents.
- Provide a range of school-to-work transition programs for non-college bound immigrant students.
- Provide appropriate guidance services to college-bound immigrant students.

To serve handicapped students and prevent misclassification:

- Conduct timely special education evaluations for students who have significant physical or developmental handicaps.
- Provide bilingual/bicultural special education teachers and/or paraprofessionals so immigrant children have appropriate role models in the classroom.
- Establish least-biased special education referral and placement processes (See Appendix C).
- Require monitoring of special education referrals of immigrant students by building-level multidisciplinary committees. Involve bilingual/bicultural personnel in the pre-referral screening process and the development of regular education options for academically troubled immigrant students. (See Appendix C)
- Experiment with alternative service delivery systems which meet the needs of academically troubled children without labeling them as handicapped; do not place immigrant children in special education because it is "the only help available."
- Provide adequate amounts of quality bilingual education to LEP students to assure they can succeed in the monolingual English classroom; otherwise, they will be at increased risk for inappropriate special education placement.
- Establish strong, centralized intake and assessment procedures for newly-enrolled immigrant students, rather than risking inappropriate placements which may, in turn, result in academic failure.
- Reorient school psychologists away from the traditional medical model of assessment, which locates the causes of school failure in the child, and toward active advocacy for appropriate educational services within the regular classroom for immigrant and U.S.-born minority children.

To empower immigrant parents:

- Provide early, comprehensible orientation to immigrant parents concerning the U.S. educational system and the specific school their child will attend.
- Hire bilingual, bicultural outreach workers from immigrant communities to help interpret parental concerns to schools and school concerns to parents.

- Use bilingual/bicultural staff and interpreters to communicate regularly with immigrant parents. Written materials sent to the home should be in the family's primary language.
- Establish regular channels of communication with immigrant self-help organizations and draw upon them for translation services and mediation assistance when intergroup conflict occurs.
- Find ways to directly involve immigrant parents in their children's education. This can be successfully accomplished even in the face of barriers. For example, research shows that children benefit when they read to their parents, even if parents are not literate.
- Schedule parent/teacher conferences in comfortable, trusted settings, such as the offices of self-help organizations, and provide interpreters.
- Plan student projects which integrate immigrant and U.S.-born children in problem-solving groups. Be sure that projects require parent cooperation.
- Encourage immigrant self-help organizations to run tutorial programs.

To eliminate disparities in resource allocations:

- Remedy resource disparities between schools in the district, being particularly mindful of the overcrowding, higher teacher vacancy rates, lower teacher qualifications and sparser curriculum that frequently characterize schools with higher immigrant enrollment.

Teacher Training Institutions

To face the new reality in U.S. schools:

- Expand efforts to produce qualified bilingual teachers, recruit from immigrant communities.
- Provide as a required part of the training of regular classroom teachers, coursework covering issues facing immigrant students, second language acquisition theory and method, diverse strategies for instructing children of mixed language fluency and cultural orientation.
- Offer summer programs to train credentialed classroom teachers in the subjects noted above.
- Remove barriers which prevent foreign-born teachers from working toward U.S. credentials.

All Communities

- Acknowledge that intergroup tensions exist in the broader society. Use existing community-based organizations to provide prejudice-prevention training for parents and others.
- Develop round-table discussion groups with representation from all communities for the purposes of identifying and working to ameliorate intergroup tensions.
- Focus discussion upon the fact that all minority groups suffer when communities are pitted against each other, or forced to compete for the same resources.
- Develop skilled local community-relations teams with bicultural membership to help defuse intergroup tensions.

Recommendations

- Make it clear to local policymakers and practitioners that harassment and victimization of students by adults or children in schools is not acceptable.
- Monitor school disciplinary practices in order to determine the number of incidents that involve racial epithets or slurs against immigrants.
- Insist that school staff and students are trained to understand and prevent prejudice.
- When sponsoring youth activities, make linkages with youth groups from immigrant communities, promote cultural diversity and sponsor programs which both support a strong ethnic/racial identity and forge positive connections with other groups.

A Special Message to Advocates

Young immigrants tend to be a group without a constituency. Newly-arrived parents often lack language skills and an adequate understanding of the U.S. public education system. Survival may demand all of their time and energy. Organizations that advocate for the best interests of U.S.-born minority children may not understand the special problems of immigrant students. Refugee resettlement organizations are seldom experienced in educational advocacy. Immigrant community self-help organizations often are so busy coping with the pressing problems of legalization, housing, health care and intergroup conflict that school issues are, understandably, low on their agendas.

For all of these reasons, it is important that community-based immigrant self-help organizations, refugee resettlement groups, and child advocacy organizations work together on behalf of young immigrants in schools. The welfare of all vulnerable students is best supported when groups concerned about their welfare work cooperatively to bring about desired change.

It is therefore recommended that:

- State and local education advocacy organizations familiarize themselves with the unique problems that immigrant students face in schools;
- Immigrant self-help and resettlement organizations familiarize themselves with school issues and with effective education advocacy strategies.

Both kinds of organizations are encouraged to undertake special projects intended to document the status of immigrant children in local schools. For example, they may:

1. Monitor school district hiring policies and practices to ensure that members of immigrant communities are hired as teachers, counselors and paraprofessionals.
2. Conduct independent reviews of textbooks and other educational materials in order to determine whether they reflect the histories and cultural backgrounds of immigrant groups represented in the schools. Report findings to the school board and key administrators.

3. Gather information and construct a profile of the degree of school exclusion experienced by immigrant students in local schools. Request data from the school district about school suspensions, corporal punishment, special education placements, retentions in-grade, and dropout rates for immigrant students. If significant numbers of immigrant children are present in the community's schools, these data should also be collected by nativity, English language proficiency, and length of time in the U.S., as well as race, ethnicity and gender. If the school district does not collect data in the ways suggested above, the absence of this important data is an advocacy issue. Share findings with the school board, school administrators, immigrant leaders and the media.
4. Request copies of local policies which impact upon immigrant children. Attend school board meetings and monitor decisions with a special regard to their likely impact upon newly-arrived students. Use the recommendations contained in this report as a yardstick. Insist that schools make reasonable efforts to communicate with parents of immigrant students across language and cultural barriers. Seek out teachers who have a strong personal interest in the welfare of immigrant students, collaborate with them, and give them support. Make constituency-building the ultimate goal.

The National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS) and its member organizations place a strong, positive value upon cultural and linguistic diversity. NCAS has staff fluent in English, Spanish and French. Some NCAS informational materials are translated into other languages as well. NCAS works to enhance networking and information-sharing among education advocates, and to provide technical assistance to individuals and organizations working on issues affecting vulnerable groups of students in their own communities. Information about how to contact NCAS appears below.

National Coalition of Advocates for Students
100 Boylston Street
Suite 737
Boston, MA 02116





Appendices

General Description

The National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS) was funded to conduct the first in-depth examination of the status of immigrant children in the nation's public schools. The goals of this two year project are: to investigate the experiences of immigrant children and families as they encounter the public schools to identify barriers which impede their educational progress; to develop and disseminate recommendations for changes in educational policy and practice which will benefit immigrant children; and to create an informed constituency for immigrant children in the schools.

Investigative Methods

Data gathering activities carried out by Project staff and consultants included:

- 180 structured interviews and 24 case studies conducted between July 1986 and February 1987 with immigrant parents and students who have resided in the United States for less than five years. Countries of origin include: Mexico, Vietnam, El Salvador, Laos, Guatemala, Honduras, Cambodia, Nicaragua, Haiti, Bolivia, the Philippines, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Poland, and Nigeria. Effective steps were taken to ensure the privacy and legal security of all interviewees;
- public hearings held in Miami (FL), San Francisco (CA), Los Angeles (CA), New York (NY), and Boston (MA); approximately 150 witnesses testified during these hearings, including immigrants from lands of origin not involved in structured interviews and case studies;
- interviews with immigration and resettlement advocates at the federal, state and local levels who are familiar with the school experiences of different immigrant groups;
- project staff met with local level school personnel and policymakers in Arizona, Colorado, California, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Texas, Washington, and New York;
- a comprehensive review of research literature which identified over 5000 pieces of relevant material; the comprehensive literature review was supplemented by specially prepared research reports by:

Advocates for Children of New York—a summary document on major issues affecting immigrant children in the New York City public school system, with special attention given to bilingual education;

Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA)—a paper containing narrative and statistical data on the status of Mexican and Central American children in Texas schools, examining issues relevant to both documented and undocumented children, as well as those from resident and migrant families;

National Center for Immigrant Rights, Inc.—a background paper on the history and status of immigrant students in INS detention centers. The document focuses on legal questions, availability of education and mental health services, and the effects of the detention experience on the academic progress and the social and emotional adjustment of immigrant students.

- a national survey between February and May 1987 of research associations, national organizations, and appropriate university departments to identify pertinent research documents and data.

A

Methodology

National Advisory Panel

NCAS established and convened a 30-member National Advisory Panel composed of immigrants, educators, and advocates for the purpose of illuminating the issues examined by the Project, reviewing the data collected and proposing recommendations for changes in educational policy and practice. The National Advisory Panel is chaired by former California Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso.

A two-day meeting was convened in Boston on March 12 and 13, 1987. A transcript of the meeting was an important source of information concerning issues examined in this report. Panel members offered consultation throughout the Project, reviewed the final draft, and helped to prepare Project recommendations.

Computing the Number of Immigrant Students in the U.S.

To provide an overall national picture of the status of immigrant students in the United States, the Project sought to estimate the number of immigrant students nationwide. Since insufficient data were available on actual public school enrollments of immigrant children, the Project decided to focus estimation efforts on the number of school-aged immigrant children (i.e. immigrant children aged 5–18 years) as of October 1, 1986.

In order to derive an overall estimate of this population, Walter Haney sought to piece together estimates regarding three analytically separable subpopulations, namely:

1. Immigrants in the United States, either documented or undocumented, as of 1980 who were still of school age as of October 1, 1986.
2. Documented immigrants in fiscal years 1980–1986 who were of school age as of October 1, 1986.
3. Undocumented immigrants who were of school age as of October 1, 1986.

To estimate the first group, the Project relied on published literature (Passel and Woodrow, 1984; Passel, 1985; Keely, 1983) and applied simple cohort progression models assuming that people age one year in a year's time. The Project also investigated the possible effects of mortality, but given the relative youth of the population groups whose numbers we sought to estimate, the effects of mortality appeared negligible. Estimation of this subgroup was based on data from the 1980 Census. Because of possible undercounting of the resident immigrant population in the Census, high and low estimates of this subgroup were calculated.

To estimate the second group, the Project relied on published and unpublished data from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, and again applied simple cohort progression models to estimate how many of each fiscal year's documented immigrant population were of school age as of October 1, 1986.

The third group, namely undocumented immigrants, was the hardest to estimate. Here the Project relied on data from the work of Jeffrey Passel and Karen Woodrow of the Population Division of the Bureau of the Census and Robert Warren of the Statistical Analysis Branch of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Their work seemed to be the best source on which to rely in estimating the undocumented immigrant population because their figures are based on analyses of the foreign born populations as estimated independently in the 1980 Census and 1979, 1983, and 1986 Current Population Surveys (CPS). Comparing data from the 1983 CPS, the 1980 Census and the 1979 CPS, they have concluded that between 1980 and 1983 the number of undocumented immigrant settlers had grown by 100,000 to 300,000 per year. (Passel and Woodrow, 1985; Passel, 1985).

A more recent paper, based on preliminary analyses of the 1986 CPS, indicated that the "range of 100,000 to 300,000 [estimate] is not unrealistic for post-1980 annual change in the undocumented population, but that the figure may fall at the lower end of the range" (Woodrow, Passel and Warren, 1987). The figure of 100,000 to 300,000 net increase in undocumented immigrants per annum from 1980 to 1986 thus seems to provide reasonable bounds from which to start in estimating the numbers of school-aged undocumented immigrants. Starting from the 100,000 to 300,000 estimate of annual undocumented immigrants, and assumptions about age distribution, we again applied a simple cohort progression model to derive estimates of the total number of undocumented immigrants of school age as of October 1, 1986.

The results of these estimates are the following:

Immigrant Populations of School Age, October 1, 1986 (adjusted for 1980 overlap)	Estimates	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
1. Immigrants in US, documented or undocumented, 1980	1,122,000	1,432,000
2. Documented Immigrants, FY 1980-FY 1986	796,000	796,000
3. Undocumented Immigrants, 1980-1986	150,000	451,000
Totals	2,068,000	2,679,000

NCAS

The National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS) is a network of experienced child advocacy organizations that work on public school issues at the federal, state and local levels. It is the only national coalition that works fulltime on these issues.

NCAS' member groups have developed, through experience in their own communities, a common perspective about children and schools. They share a commitment to public education, to maximum student access to appropriate educational experiences and to state and local advocacy as a constructive approach to school improvement.

NCAS Executive Committee

Chairperson:

Aurelio Montemayor
Intercultural Research Development
Association

Chair-Elect:

Laurie Olsen
California Tomorrow

Vice-Chair:

Lola Glover
Coalition for Quality Education

Secretary:

Norman Fruchter
Institute for Citizen Involvement
in Education

Treasurer:

Robert Bell
Children's Defense Fund, Mississippi Project

Immediate Past Chair:

Stephen Bing
Massachusetts Advocacy Center

NCAS Member Organizations

Advocates for Children of New York
24-16 Bridge Plaza South
Long Island City, NY 11101

Arkansas Advocates for Children
and Families
951 Donaghey Building
Little Rock, AR 72201

ASPIRA Association, Inc.
1112 16th Street NW, Suite 340
Washington, D.C. 20036

Atlantic Center for Research in Education
604 West Chapel Hill St.
Durham, NC 27701

California Tomorrow
Fort Mason Center, Bld. B
San Francisco, CA 94123

Center for Law and Education
236 Massachusetts Ave., NE
Room 504
Washington, D.C. 20002

Children's Defense Fund
122 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Children's Defense Fund/MS Project
PO Box 1684
Jackson, MS 39205

Citizens Education Center Northwest
105 South Main, Suite 327
Seattle, WA 98104

Coalition for Quality Education
17021 Uptown Avenue
Toledo, OH 43620

Designs for Change
220 S. State St., Ste. 1900
Chicago, IL 60604

The Education Law Center
155 Washington St., Rm. 209
Newark, NJ 07102

The Education Law Center
2100 Lewis Tower Building
225 South 15th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Institute for Citizen Involvement
in Education
577A 6th St.
Brooklyn, NY 11215

Intercultural Development Research
Association
5835 Callaghan Road, #350
San Antonio, TX 78228

Kentucky Youth Advocates
2024 Woodford Place
Louisville, KY 40204

B

Project Participants

Appendix B

Massachusetts Advocacy Center
76 Summer Street, 5th Floor
Boston, MA 02110

National Black Child Development Institute
1465 Rhode Island Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

National Council of La Raza
548 South Spring St., Ste. 802
Los Angeles, CA 90013

Parents Union for Public Schools
401 N. Broad St., Rm. 916
Philadelphia, PA 19108

Statewide Youth Advocacy, Inc.
410 Alexander Street
Rochester, NY 14607

Student Advocacy Center
617 E. University, #226
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Immigrant Student Project

Executive Director:

Joan M. First

Project Director:

John Willshire Carrera, Esq.

Field Coordinator:

Sara Garcia

Research Coordinators:

Wendy Walker
Adria Steinberg

Report Authors:

Joan M. First
John B. Kellogg
John Willshire Carrera
Anne Lewis
Cheryl Almeida

Legal Rights of Immigrant Students and Their Parents:

John Willshire Carrera, Esq.

Planning Phase Coordinator:

Mindy Fried

Field Consultants:

Phil Buskirk, Miami, FL
Angelina Moreno, Laredo, TX

Field Interviewers Included:

Bessie Bazile
Phil Buskirk
Susan Caras
Sandra Canas
Marcia Chen
Tim Cordova
Roberto Flores
Ger Kue
Rita Gallegos
Gilbert Halsted
Kathy Herrera
Walter Haney
Madorom Huot
Nancy Kolseksky
Yvon Lamour
Ana C. Matrilla
Jo Anne Miller
Angelina Moreno
Tu Nguyen
Carole Ouimette
Srey Pech
Ma Phu
Efren Rodriguez
Arouny Joy Seunsom
Yolanda Sevillano
San Seunsom
By Sor
Adria Steinberg
Mai Thuey
Wendy Walker

Research and Other Assistants:

Cheryl Almeida
 Maria Bettencourt
 Marianne Castano
 Terry Heide
 Ntsiki Langford
 Yin Moy
 Montgomery Neill
 Elly Pardo
 Carlos Rivarola
 Donna Rusinak
 Janette Smith
 Zegenu Tsige

Project Consultants:

Albert Cortez
 Director of Research, Intercultural
 Development Research Association,
 San Antonio, TX
 Walter Haney
 Professor, School of Education, Boston
 College, Boston, MA
 Noe Medina
 Education Policy Research, Boston, MA
 Vito Perrone
 Vice President, Carnegie Foundation for the
 Advancement of Teaching, Princeton, NJ
 Rudolf Vecoli
 Director, Immigration History Research
 Center, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN

The NCAS Immigrant Student Project was enriched by advice and other assistance from a large number of individuals and organizations. NCAS is grateful to all of them. A partial list follows.

Project Advisors and Friends:

Chantail Ambroise
 Carlos Ardila
 Deborah Anker, Esq.
 Helen Bonilla
 Ed Crotty
 Sister Rosemarie Cummins
 Domingo Gonzalez
 Adam Green, Esq.
 Gilbert Halsted
 Jonathan Jones
 Nancy Kelly, Esq.
 Dan Kesselbrenner, Esq.
 Holly Lockwood
 Daniel Lam
 James Lavelle
 Roberto Martinez
 My Nhung Thi Mai
 Camillo Perez-Bustillo, Esq.
 Roger Rice, Esq.
 Jane Rocamora, Esq.
 Alan Rom, Esq.
 Ruth Scheonbach
 Rafael Torres
 Canh D. Tran
 Toan Truong
 Josefina Vasquez
 Anne Wheelock

Thanks for assistance on special projects to:

Markarian & Kellogg
 Boston, MA
 PCs at Your Command/Stan Kaplan
 Brookline, MA

Report Production Coordinator:

Judy Carr Johnson

Report Design:

Green Street Graphics/Mia Saunders

Typesetting:

Resolution Graphics/Edwin Perlmutter
 Alice Thomas

Printing:

Northeast Offset Inc./Edward Kelley

Photo Credits:

Kingmond Young,
 Cover, Title page, Chapter 1, Chapter 2,
 Recommendations, Appendices
 Paul Conklin, Chapter 3
 Carol Guzy, *Miami Herald*,
 Chapter 4
 Angela Gemino, Chapter 5

National Advisory Panel

- Justice Cruz Reynoso (Ret.)
Panel Chairperson
O'Donnel & Gordon, Los Angeles, CA
- Bambi Cardenas
IDRA, San Antonio, TX
- Oscar Chacon
Comite El Salvador, Cambridge, MA
- Paul Cheng
Principal, Newcomer High School,
San Francisco, CA
- Dorothy Cordova
Demonstration Project for Asian Americans,
Seattle, WA
- Father Robert Drinan
Georgetown University Law Center,
Washington, DC
- Hubert M. Dyasi
City College Workshop Center, New York, NY
- Joseph Etienne
Executive Director, Haitian Centers Council,
Brooklyn, NY
- Jean Claude Exulien
HACAD, Miami, FL
- Dennis Gallagher
Refugee Policy Group, Washington, DC
- Harold Howe II
Senior Lecturer, Harvard University School of
Education, Cambridge, MA
- Kathy Jarvis
Advocates for Children of New York,
Long Island City, NY
- Ira Kurzban
(American Immigration Lawyers Association)
Kurzban, Kurzban, Weinger and Holsberg,
Miami, FL
- Jonathan Katz
Russian Adolescent Project, Brooklyn, NY
- James Lavelle
IPC, Brighton Marine Public Health Center,
Brighton, MA
- Donna Lester
Center of Studies of ESL, Boulder School
System, Boulder, CO
- Holly Lockwood
Metropolitan Indochinese Children &
Adolescent Services (MICAS) Chelsea, MA
- Gladys Murilo
CRECEN, Hempstead, NY
- Father Frank O'Laughlin
Holy Cross Center, Indiantown, FL
- Laurie Olsen
California Tomorrow, San Francisco, CA
- Lori Orum
National Council of La Raza, Los Angeles, CA
- Antonio Rodriguez
East LA Immigration Project, Los Angeles, CA
- Raymond G. Romero
Commissioner of Commerce, State of Illinois,
Chicago, IL
- Peter Roos
Multicultural Education Training and
Advocacy (META), San Francisco, CA
- Sophie Sa
Matsushita Foundation, Inc., Secaucus, NJ
- Yang Sam
S.E. Asian Mutual Assistance Association,
Philadelphia, PA
- Dale Frederick Swartz
National Immigration, Refugee & Citizenship
Forum, Washington, DC
- Hai Tran
Bilingual Education Multi-Functional
Research Center, University of Oklahoma,
Norman, OK
- James R. Vasquez
Superintendent, Edgewood Independent
School District, San Antonio, TX

Public Hearings Co-Sponsors

Miami, FL

National Community Relations Division,
American Friends Service Committee
Coordinator: Phil Buskirk

San Francisco, CA

California Tomorrow
Coordinator: Laurie Olsen

Los Angeles, CA

California Tomorrow
Coordinators: Laurie Olsen, Marcia Chen

New York

Advocates for Children of New York
Coordinator: Kathy Jarvis

Boston, MA

Massachusetts Advocacy Center
Coordinators: Stephen Bing, Mindy Fried

Miami Hearing Panel

Rulx Jean-Bart
Haitian Refugee Center, Miami, FL
Patrick Baussan
Haitian Refugee Center, Miami, FL
Rev. Fritz Bazin
St. Agnes' Episcopal Church, Miami, FL
Joseph Etienne
Haitian Centers Council, Brooklyn, NY
Jean Claude Exulien
HACAD, Miami, FL

Reine Leroy
Intergroup Relations Representative, Dade
County Public Schools, Miami, FL
Daniella Levine, Esq.
Legal Services of Greater Miami, FL
Father Frank O'Laughlin
Holy Cross Center, Indiantown, FL
Camilo Perez-Bustillo
Multicultural Education Training and
Advocacy, Cambridge, MA

Witnesses at Miami Public Hearing

Olga Bzdyk
Director, Head Start Program, Homestead, FL
Cheryl Little
Attorney, Haitian Refugee Center, Miami, FL
James Fleming
Dade County Public Schools, Miami, FL
Sara Hudelson
National Origin Desegregation Assistance
Center, University of Miami, FL
Sofia Santesteban
National Origin Desegregation Assistance
Center, University of Miami, FL
Michelline Ducena
Women and Children's Program, United
Methodist Urban Ministry, Homestead, FL
Jackie Michel
Parent, Miami, FL
Yanick Rasagale
Coalition of Florida Workers' Organizations
(COFWO), Miami, FL

Phil Buskirk
Haitian Community Advocate, Homestead, FL
Reine Leroy
Intergroup Relations Representative,
Dade County Public Schools, Miami, FL
Ginette Leger
Teacher, Edison Junior High School,
Miami, FL
Ira Kurzban
Kurzban, Kurzban, Weinger and Holtsberg,
Miami, FL, and President, American
Immigration Lawyers Association
John Ratliff
Education Advocacy Project, Legal Services of
Greater Miami, FL
Father Frank O'Laughlin
Holy Cross Center, Indiantown, FL
Ruth Rosow
Teacher, Edison High School, Miami, FL
Daniella Levine, Esq.
Legal Services of Greater Miami, FL

Boston Hearing Panel

James Aldrich
International Institute, Boston, MA
Sister Rosemarie Cummins
Co-Director, Centro Presente, Cambridge, MA
James Jennings
Dean, College of Community and Public
Service, University of Massachusetts,
Boston, MA
James Lavelle
Indochinese Psychiatry Clinic, Brighton, MA
Holly Lockwood
Metropolitan Indochinese Children and
Adolescent Services, Chelsea, MA

Camilo Perez-Bustillo
Attorney, Multicultural Education Training
and Advocacy, Cambridge, MA
Sophie Sa
Executive Director, Matsushita Foundation,
Secaucus, NJ
Dale Frederic Swartz
Executive Director, National Immigration
Refugee and Citizenship Forum,
Washington, D.C.
My Nhung Thi Mai
President, Asian Refugee Coalition,
Boston, MA

Witnesses at Boston Public Hearing

Miren Uriarte
Professor, University of Massachusetts,
Boston, MA
Lourdes Sariol
Family Services Program Coordinator,
Concilio Hispano, Cambridge, MA
Prem Suksawat
Bilingual School Psychologist, Lowell Public
Schools, Lowell, MA
Maria Nguyen
Guidance Counselor, Brighton High School,
Brighton, MA
Sam Pan Wootirat
Teacher, Boston English High School,
Boston, MA
Daovin Vong Vieng
Student, Boston English High School,
Boston, MA
Olay Say
Student, Boston English High School,
Boston, MA
Somboun Chomthakham
Student, Boston English High School,
Boston, MA
Layne St. Louis
Youth Program Coordinator, League of
Haitian Families, Boston, MA
Margarita Alvarez
Assistant Headmaster, Harrington Elementary
School, Cambridge, MA
Julie Criscitiello
Social Worker, Metropolitan Indochinese
Children & Adolescent Services, Chelsea, MA

Oscar Chacon
National Co-Coordinator, Comité El Salvador,
Cambridge, MA
Sister Lumina O'Sullivan
Education Consultant, Kmhuu Family
Community, Boston, MA
Sonya Merien-Soboff
Lau Facilitator, Lowell School System,
Lowell, MA
Harold Reynolds, Jr.
Commissioner, Department of Education
Boston, MA
Marcos Garcia
Social Worker, Centro Presente,
Cambridge, MA
William Waxman
Principal, Garfield Elementary School,
Revere, MA
Rithipol Yem
Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association,
Boston, MA
Camilo Perez-Bustillo
Attorney, Multicultural Education and
Training Advocacy, Cambridge, MA
Daniel Lam
Coordinator, Massachusetts Office of Refugee
Resettlement, Boston, MA
Charles Glenn
Director, Equal Educational Opportunity
Division, Massachusetts State Department of
Education, Boston, MA

New York Hearing Panel

Eddy Bayardelle
Director, Center for Language Minority
Education, Bank Street College,
Manhattan, NY

Elizabeth Bogen
Director, Office of Immigrant Affairs,
Manhattan, NY

Marilyn Braveman
National Education Director, American
Jewish Committee, Manhattan, NY

Bruce Bushart
State Language Coordinator, Department of
Social Services, State of New York

Diana Caballero
Director, Puerto Rican/Latino Education
Roundtable, Manhattan, NY

Edith Cruz
Education Department, State of New York

Sister Camille D'Arienzo
Professor, Brooklyn College, NY

Father Francisco T. Dominguez
Director, Office for Immigrant Services,
Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of New York

Joseph Etienne
Executive Director, Haitian Centers Council,
Brooklyn, NY

Luis Fernandez
Reporter, *La Prensa* and *El Diario*, NY

Dolores B. Frazer
Director of Planning and Program
Development, Division for Youth, Planning
and Development, State of New York

Adriana Garcia de Aldrige, Ph.D.
Acting President, Hostos Community
College, Bronx, NY

David Jones
Executive Director, Community Service
Society, Manhattan, NY

Ronald Jones
Special Representative for Educational
Programs, United Federation of Teachers,
Manhattan, NY

Darlene Kalke
Director, Center for Immigrant Rights,
Manhattan, NY

Guillermo Linares
President, Chancellor's Commission on
Bilingual Education, Brooklyn, NY

Herminio Martinez, Ph.D.
Director, Division of Training and Evaluation
of School Services, Institute for Urban and
Minority Education, Teachers College,
Manhattan, NY

Stanley Michels
Manhattan Representative, New York
City Council, Manhattan, NY

Luis A. Miranda
Director of Research, NACME, Inc.,
Manhattan, NY

Colin Moore, Esq.
Past President, Caribbean Action Lobby,
Brooklyn, NY

Anne B. Morse
Education Assistant, Office of the Borough
President, Queens, NY

Gladys Murillo
Director, Central American Refugee
Committee, Hempstead, NY

Michael Posner, Esq.
Lawyers Committee for International Human
Rights, Manhattan, NY

Nathan Quinones
Former Chancellor, Board of Education,
Brooklyn, NY

Sophie Sa
Executive Director, Matsushita Foundation,
Secaucus, NJ

Yang Sam
Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance
Association Coalition, Inc., Philadelphia, PA

Marian Schwarz
Coordinator, Youth Services Division,
Office of the Mayor, City of New York

Emanuel Tobier
Professor, New York University,
Manhattan, NY

Charles Wang
Executive Director, Chinatown Planning
Council, Manhattan, NY

Witnesses at New York Public Hearing

- Daniel Abreu
Teacher, I.S. 143/District #6, Manhattan, NY
- Luisa Acosta
Former Student, I.S. 143, Manhattan, NY
- Ricardo Mora
Former Student, I.S. 143, Manhattan, NY
- Ramon Amonte
Student, I.S. 143/District #6, Manhattan, NY
- Giovanni Lopez
Paraprofessional, P.S. 198, Manhattan, NY
- Carmen Lozano
Student, Brandeis High School,
Manhattan, NY
- Connie Ling
Parent, District #6, Manhattan, NY
- Maria Ortiz
Parent, District #16, Manhattan, NY
- Yva Cantave
Parent, District #19, Brooklyn, NY
- Elizabeth Bogen
Director, Office of Immigrant Affairs,
Manhattan, NY
- Gary Rubin
Director of Programs, American Jewish
Committee, Manhattan, NY
- Pedro Rodriguez, M.D.
Medical Director, James Weldon Johnson
Counseling Center, Manhattan, NY
- Arthur C. Helton, Esq.
Political Asylum Project, Lawyers Committee
for International Human Rights,
Manhattan, NY
- Allan Wernick
Board Member, Center for Immigrant Rights,
Manhattan, NY
- Garth Alperstein, M.D.
Pediatrician, Manhattan, NY
- Luis Reyes, Ph.D.
Education Director, ASPIRA, Bronx, NY
- Rita Barrish
Director of Education Planning, Department
of City Planning, Manhattan, NY
- Loyda Alfalla
Superintendent, Community School District
#6, Manhattan, NY
- Robin Willner
Educational Priorities Panel, Manhattan, NY
- Joanne Oplustil
Executive Director, Church Avenue
Merchants Block Association, Brooklyn, NY
- Archer Dong, Ph.D.
Principal, I.S. #131, Manhattan, NY
- Karen Shaw Kerpen, Ph.D.
Refugee/Entrant Assistance Program,
Department of Social Services,
State of New York
- Joanna Chmiel
Director, Project Pride, Queens, NY
- Lydia Cordoba
Parent, Manhattan, NY
- Eric Nadelstern
Assistant Principal, International High
School, Queens, NY
- Don Kao
Counselor, Project Reach, Manhattan, NY
- Joseph Hian
Vietnamese Refugee Center, Manhattan, NY
- Diana Rivera La Llave
Case Advocate, El Puente, Brooklyn, NY
- Robert Blumenthal
Assistant to the Borough President,
Brooklyn, NY
- May Ying Chen
Legal Assistant, Immigration Project,
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
(ILGWU), Manhattan, NY
- Patricia Gray
Director, Chinatown Community Project,
in Education, Inc./Asian Children's
Underground, Manhattan, NY
- Evelyn Linares
President, Community Association of
Progressive Dominicans, Inc., Manhattan, NY
- Herman Montoya
Psychiatric Social Worker, Bronx Lebanon
Hospital, Bronx, NY
- Monica Gordon, Ph.D.
Caribbean Research Center, Medgar Evers
College, Brooklyn, NY
- Eddy Bayardelle
Director, Center for Language Minority
Education, Bank Street College,
Manhattan, NY
- Nivia Zavala
Director, Office of Bilingual Services,
Division of Special Education, Board of
Education, Brooklyn, NY

Roger Juan Maldonado, Esq.
Housing Law Unit, South Brooklyn Legal
Services, Brooklyn, NY

Maryse Roumain
Director, Center for Haitian Child
Development, City College of New York,
Manhattan, NY

Jean Sotirakis
Director, Hellenic American Neighborhood
Action Committee, Child and Family
Counseling Service, Queens, NY

Haydee Zambrana
Executive Director, Concerned Citizens of
Queens, Queens, NY

Nilda Soto-Ruiz
Director, Office of Bilingual Education,
Board of Education, New York, NY

Nu Nu Win
Parent, Queens, NY

Janice Silber
Case Advocate, Advocates for Children of
New York, Long Island City, NY

Dorothy Burke
President, Community School Board #17,
Brooklyn, NY

Eli Plotkin
Program Manager, High School Bilingual/
ESL Unit, Board of Education, Brooklyn, NY

Evelyn Davila
Director, National Hispanic Scholar Awards
Program, The College Entrance Examination
Board, Manhattan, NY

San Francisco Public Hearing Panel

James Guthrie
Professor, School of Education, University of
California, Berkeley, CA

Lillian Liu
Student, President, Intercultural
Conversation Society, Galileo High School,
San Francisco, CA

Olivia Martinez
Principal, Luther Burbank Middle School,
San Francisco, CA

Lori Orum
Education Analyst, National Council of
La Raza, Los Angeles, CA

Bill Tamayo, Esq.
Asian Law Caucus, Oakland, CA

Yori Wada
Board of Regents, University of California

Los Angeles Public Hearing Panel

Ed Avila
Commissioner of Public Works,
Los Angeles, CA

John Howard
Principal, Belmont High School,
Los Angeles, CA

Lilly Lee
Board Member, Economic Development
Corporation, Los Angeles, CA

Lori Orum
Education Analyst, National Council of
La Raza, Los Angeles, CA

Angie Papadakis
California State School Board

Yang Sam
Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance
Association Coalition, Inc., Philadelphia, PA

Linda Wong, Esq.
Mexican American Legal Defense and
Education Fund (MALDEF), Los Angeles, CA

Witnesses at California Public Hearings

Rosario Anaya School Board Member, San Francisco Unified Schools, San Francisco, CA	Benny Gatan Parent, Fremont, CA
William Arroyo Psychiatrist, Los Angeles County — University of Southern California Medical Center	David Gilbert Researcher, Insight Multi-Cultural Communications, Richmond, CA
Ligaya Avenida Coordinator, Bilingual Programs, San Francisco, CA	Norm Gold Consultant, State Department of Education, Sacramento, CA
Silvio Ballejos Student, Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, CA	Jackie Goldberg School Board Member, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, CA
Maria Borje Filipino Immigrant Services, Fremont, CA	Maria Gutierrez-Garcia Santa Ana Unified School District, Santa Ana, CA
Margaret Brindle ESL Chair, Mission High School, San Francisco, CA	Gloria Hernandez Student, Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, CA
Gloria Burchard Principal, Court School Program, San Francisco, CA	Loretta Huang Dean of Students, Mark Keppel High School, Los Angeles, CA
Vicky Campos Bilingual Specialist, Orange Unified School District, Orange, CA	Nil Hul Parent, Long Beach, CA
Gilberto Cardenas Tomas Rivera Center, San Diego, CA	Lisa Javier Executive Director, Search to Involve Filipino Americans, Los Angeles, CA
Paul Cheng Principal, Newcomer High School, San Francisco, CA	Howard Kwon Bilingual Resource Specialist, ABC Unified School District, Los Angeles, CA
Carlos Cordova Lecturer, La Raza Studies, San Francisco State University	Ed Lee Director, Orientation Center, Alhambra Unified School District, Alhambra, CA
Ramon Cortines Superintendent, San Francisco Unified School District, San Francisco, CA	Judy Levy-Sender Teacher, Newcomer High School, San Francisco, CA
Paul Delay, M.D. San Francisco General Hospital, San Francisco, CA	Victor Low Assistant Principal, Alamo School, San Francisco, CA
Theresa Do President, Vietnamese American Women's Association, San Diego, CA	Dinh Lau EOP Counselor, Glendale Community College, Glendale, CA
Bob Drickey, M.D. Refugee Clinic, San Francisco General Hospital, San Francisco, CA	Jo Marcel Catholic Charities Refugee Resettlement Project, Los Angeles, CA
Martha Estrada Program Administrator, Long Beach Unified School District, Long Beach, CA	Moises Martinez Student, Belmont High School, Los Angeles, CA
Luisa Ezquerro ESL Teacher, McAttee High School, San Francisco, CA	Melinda Melendez Legislative Advocate, Association of California School Administrators, Sacramento, CA
Patricia Gandara Assembly Office of Research, Sacramento, CA	So Young Min Student, ABC Unified School District, Los Angeles, CA
Ignacio Garcia Counselor, Belmont High School, Los Angeles, CA	Cesar Menjivar Student, Mission High School, San Francisco, CA

Kenneth Moffett
Superintendent, ABC Unified School District,
Los Angeles, CA

Maria Ochoa
Legislative Aide, Office of Assemblywoman
Gloria Molina, Sacramento, CA

Gloria Palmer
Coordinator, FOCUS Project, Manual Arts
High School, Los Angeles, CA

Jacob Perea
Professor, La Raza Studies, San Francisco, CA

Carol Raimondi, Esq.
Father Moriarty Center, San Francisco, CA

Peter Roos, Esq.
Multicultural Education Training and
Advocacy (META), San Francisco, CA

Liliana Rossi
Director, Mission Recreation Center,
San Francisco, CA

Dean Saelao
Student, Galileo High School,
San Francisco, CA

Dr. Angel Sanchez
County Office of Education, Los Angeles, CA

Jay Schaeffer
Teacher, Belmont High School,
Los Angeles, CA

Dolores Sloan
Director, Confianza y Familia Community
Counseling Service, Los Angeles, CA

Carol Smith, Esq.
Legal Aid Foundation, Los Angeles, CA

Maria Sooy
Coordinator, FOCUS Project, Belmont
High School, Los Angeles, CA

J. Edward Taylor
Urban Institute, Washington, DC

Christina Tien
Student, California State University,
Los Angeles, CA

Norita Vlach
Therapist, San Francisco, CA

Vu-Duc Vuong
Executive Director, Center for Southeast
Asian Refugee Resettlement,
San Francisco, CA

Elena Wong
Assistant Superintendent, Garvey Unified
School District, Los Angeles, CA

Audrey Yamagata-Noji
Commissioner, Orange County Human
Relations, Orange, CA

Iceland Yee
Psychologist, Oakland Public Schools,
Oakland, CA

David Zavala
Student, Belmont High School,
Los Angeles, CA

Assisting Organizations

Interview Coordination:

The following organizations are among those that assisted with the Project's field component by identifying interviewers, providing interviewers, identifying interviewees, coordinating interviews, and providing space for interviews:

American Friends Service Committee Boston, MA	El Rescate Los Angeles, CA
American Friends Service Committee Dade County, FL	Father Moriarty Center San Francisco, CA
California Tomorrow Los Angeles, CA	Gadshill Center Chicago, IL
Cambodian Community Action Center Houston, TX	Haitian Centers Council Brooklyn, NY
Catholic Social Services Tucson, AZ	International Institute of Lowell Lowell, MA
Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN) Hempstead, NY	International Institute of Providence Providence, RI
Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN) Los Angeles, CA	International Rescue Committee Houston, TX
Centro Aztlan Laredo, TX	Laotian American Cultural Association of Boston Brighton, MA
Centro Familiar Houston, TX	Laotian American Organization of Lowell Lowell, MA
Centro Presente Cambridge, MA	Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice Los Angeles, CA
Children's Evaluation Center Tucson, AZ	Newcomer High School San Francisco, CA
Comite de Refugiados Centroamericanos (CRECEN) Houston, TX	Peralte Center Brooklyn, NY
Comite de Refugiados Centroamericanos (CRECEN) Los Angeles, CA	St. Mary's Church Cambridge, MA
Demonstration Project for Asian Americans Seattle, WA	Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association Coalition Philadelphia, PA
Designs for Change Chicago, IL	United Farm Workers San Juan, TX
El Lugar de Los Niños Chicago, IL	Vietnamese American Action Program 10-25 Houston, TX
	Vietnamese American Civic Association Boston, MA

General Support

Many community, state and national organizations assisted by providing the Immigrant Student Project with a combination of information, advice, support and access to communities. Their support and guidance was invaluable. The following is a partial list of those organizations:

ACLU	Centro Presente
Washington, DC	Cambridge, MA
American Friends Service Committee	Church World Services
Boston, MA	Miami, FL
Laredo, TX	Comite de Refugiados Centroamericanos
Miami, FL	(CRECEN)
Philadelphia, PA	Hempstead, NY
San Diego, CA	Houston, TX
San Francisco, CA	Los Angeles, CA
American Immigration Lawyers Association	San Francisco, CA
Miami, FL	Demonstration Project for Asian Americans
Asian Law Caucus, Inc.	Seattle, WA
Oakland and San Francisco, CA	Economic and Employment Development
Asian Pacific Law Project	Center for Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese
Los Angeles, CA	Communities
Asian Pacific Migrant Project	Los Angeles, CA
Los Angeles, CA	El Centro Familiar
Border Association for Refugees from	Houston, TX
Central America (BARCA)	English-Plus Information Clearinghouse
Edinburg, TX	(EPIC)
Boston Asian Refugee Coalition	Washington, DC
Boston, MA	Father Moriarty Central American
Cambodian Community of Massachusetts	Refugee Program
Chelsea, MA	San Francisco, CA
Cambridge Haitian American Association	Filipino Immigrant Services
(CHAMA)	Oakland, CA
Cambridge, MA	Greater Boston Legal Services
Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association	Boston, MA
of Lowell	HACAD
Lowell, MA	Miami, FL
Catholic Charities	Haitian Centers Council
Houston, TX	Brooklyn, NY
Catholic Social Services Immigration Project	Haitian Refugee Center
San Francisco, CA	Miami, FL
Center for Immigrants' Rights	Indochinese Mutual Assistance Association
New York, NY	San Diego, CA
Center for Migration Studies	Lao Family Committee
Staten Island, NY	Fresno, CA
Center for Southeast Asian Resettlement	Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights
San Francisco, CA	Under Law
Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies	Boston, MA
La Jolla, CA	Lawyers Committee for International
Central American Refugee Center	Human Rights
(CARECEN)	New York, NY
Hempstead, NY	Lawyers Committee for Urban Affairs
Houston, TX	San Francisco, CA
Los Angeles, CA	League of Haitian Families
Centro Aztlan, Asociacion Pro Servicios	Cambridge, MA
Sociales, Inc.	Legal Services of Greater Miami, Inc.
Laredo, TX	Miami, FL

Appendix B

- Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice
Los Angeles, CA
- Lutheran Ministries Services
Miami Beach, FL
- Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services
Chelsea, MA
- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)
Los Angeles, CA
Chicago, IL
- Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy (META)
Cambridge, MA
- National Association of Bilingual Educators (NABE)
Washington, DC
- National Center For Immigrants' Rights
Los Angeles, CA
- National Center for Immigrants' Rights, Inc.
Los Angeles, CA
- National Center for Youth Law
San Francisco, CA
- National Coalition for Humans
New York, NY
- National Council of La Raza
Washington, DC
Los Angeles, CA
- National Immigration Project
National Lawyers Guild
Boston, MA
- National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum
Washington, DC
- Oakdale Legal Assistance Project
Oakdale, LA
- Proyecto Libertad
Harlingen, TX
- Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association Coalition
Philadelphia, PA
- Texas Center for Immigrant Legal Services
Houston, TX
- Texas Rural Legal Services
Westaco, TX
- United Farm Workers
San Juan, TX

There are a number of important premises underlying the recognition of the educational needs of immigrant students and the changes in school practices which must occur. Most immigrant children are eligible, legitimate, regular education students who have a right to an education in the mainstream of American public schools. Typically, immigrant students are suspected of being handicapped solely because of their obvious differences from the average U.S. student.

Some immigrant students may be eligible as handicapped due to obvious physically determined handicapping conditions (e.g. blindness, deafness, severe mental retardation, etc.). Immigrant students may have physical disorders due to extreme poverty, war or other environmental factors. They may have psychological handicaps due to severe depression, post traumatic stress, or family disintegration, etc. These more obvious handicapping conditions must be distinguished from those that are socially determined such as learning disabilities, behavior disorders, and speech impairments, etc.

Socially determined handicapping conditions are posited in the sociocultural environment in which we live. The hypothesized origins of these handicaps cannot be differentiated from the culturally determined methods of identification. The identification of a socially determined handicap is most frequently based on a multidisciplinary team consensus arising from premises about individual differences based on an assumption of common past experience of all students in school. Because immigrant students are acculturated in other environments/cultures and do not have the same general experiences as do U.S. children, the predisposing factors for socially determined handicapping conditions cannot be assumed to have been present.

The desired educational outcome is that immigrant students will experience success in school in a least biased and least restrictive environment that appreciates differences in culture and language as an integral part of a pluralistic society. Indeed, the long-standing tradition of schooling in the United States has been to prepare children for meaningful and productive adulthood. It is to this tradition that immigrant students and their families aspire. There are two regular education environments for immigrant students which may also include support services such as tutoring and counseling. First, the regular classroom with an English language curriculum and program may be the appropriate placement for an immigrant student. Second, the regular education bilingual classroom may be the appropriate placement for the student. In each case, the school recognizes the value of many languages and cultures while preparing students to function successfully in mainstream U.S. society.

In some instances, the immigrant student may exhibit a medical/developmental deficit which significantly affects their ability to learn in school. The immigrant students will receive a special education which may include extensive integration with regular classroom students. The specific program is described in an individualized education program (IEP) which is implemented by the school with parent cooperation.

In attempting to meet the educational needs of the immigrant student, it is helpful to have a framework for conceptualizing the sequence of events to occur and the factors to consider. In applying the framework, a series of questions have been developed to systematically analyze needs and organize actions. The process of asking the questions should begin when any of the following conditions exist:

1. The immigrant student is initially enrolled in school.
2. The immigrant student is experiencing a lack of satisfactory progress or other concerns have been raised concerning their current school placement.
3. The immigrant student's educational program is approaching a routine conclusion (e.g. the end of a school year or transition from one school to another).

C

Does This Immigrant Student Really Belong in Special Education?

Emilie Barrilleaux
State Supervisor of School
Social Work
Special Education Service Division
Louisiana Department of Education

W. Alan Coulter
Associate Director for Support &
Appraisal Services
New Orleans Public Schools

The framework of questions should be asked by a school-based team of professionals who are knowledgeable about the student's language and culture (including interpreters) and who have sufficient information about the individual student to solve problems and make decisions based on facts. The framework of questions should be asked in collaboration with the student, the student's teacher, the student's parents, and advocates.

Framework for Meeting the Educational Needs of the Immigrant Student

Question #1

Does the immigrant student have adequate health (with an absence of significant developmental deficits), normal vision and hearing sufficient to support effective classroom instruction?

- 1.1 If the answer is YES, assign the student to regular classroom and ask Question #2.
- 1.2 If the answer is NO, ask Question #4 (conduct medical screening and evaluation and assure the appropriate follow-up services including an individual evaluation for special education services).

Question #2

Does the student's teacher(s) have an adequate understanding of the child's current academic knowledge (within the school's curricula) and language functioning?

- 2.1 If the answer is YES, develop a written plan for instruction and other services which will be disseminated to the parents in a readily understandable form. (Note: If the student is already in the program but not making adequate progress, redesign the program.) Ask Question #3.
- 2.2 If the answer is NO, conduct curriculum-based assessments and language acquisition assessments with adequate parent participation. Based on the results of the assessments, develop a plan for instructional services (which may include bilingual regular education) and communicate results to the student's other teacher(s) and his/her parents. Ask Question #3.

Question #3

After a reasonable period of time, is the student making adequate progress in the curricula as measured by teacher(s), parent and student judgment?

- 3.1 If the answer is YES, give feedback to the parents and student and continue with the program.
- 3.2 If the answer is NO and the student is not identified as handicapped, return to Question #1 and repeat the process (to be sure that no previously undiscovered medical deficits have been overlooked and to redesign the educational program). If the answer is NO and the student is identified as handicapped, go to Question #4.

NOTE The following questions are asked *only* if a handicapping condition is suspected (i.e. referred to in Question #1).

Question #4

Can the specific concerns about this student be phrased as explicit assessment questions for a multidisciplinary team?

- 4.1 If the answer is YES, obtain written parent permission for a special education evaluation (or if student is identified as handicapped, serve notice of reevaluation). Following receipt of parent permission (informed consent) or sending parent notice, determine the assessment team coordinator who will facilitate the assignment of assessment questions to the appropriate members of the multidisciplinary team and establish a plan for a comprehensive assessment. Ask Question #5.
- 4.2 If the answer is NO, conduct explicit problem identification through teacher, parent and student interview, classroom observation and curriculum-based assessment. The outcome should be a list of precise assessment questions. Proceed with step 4.1.

Question #5

Have all the assessment questions been answered to the satisfaction of the multidisciplinary team, the teacher(s), the parents and the student?

- 5.1 If the answer is YES, prepare a written integrated report of the team's findings (questions and answers) and priority ranked recommendations to meet the student's educational needs. Ask Question #6.
- 5.2 If the answer is NO, determine specific nature of dissatisfaction. If necessary, revise assessment questions, the assignment of questions to team members and/or the plan for comprehensive assessment. Repeat Question #5.

Question #6

Is the written integrated report readily understandable to the parent, the teacher(s) and the student (where appropriate)? (Note: It is important to take special care in clearly communicating with parents who have language and cultural differences.)

- 6.1 If the answer is YES, prepare a written plan for instruction and other services. (Note: If the student was determined handicapped by the team this will be an individual education program (IEP) including school placement.)
- 6.2 If the answer is NO, determine the areas of misunderstanding and clarify the written report. Repeat Question #6.

Question #7

Is the student receiving instruction and other services as indicated on the written instructional plan or IEP?

- 7.1 If the answer is YES, go to Question #3.
- 7.2 If the answer is NO, determine what is not being provided according to the written plan of instruction or IEP and inform school authorities in order to facilitate implementation of the plan. (Note: If the plan is still not implemented after informing authorities, seek due process.)

I. Right of Access to a Free Public Education (K-12)

A. Introduction

Immigrant^{*} students, with the exception of those defined under the Immigration and Naturalization Act¹ ('Act') as nonimmigrant students solely "residing" "temporarily" in the U.S. for the express purpose of studying, are entitled to a right of access to free public schooling (K-12). State and local actions based on classifications which expressly exclude or functionally exclude immigrant students on the basis of their "alienage", "national origin" or "undocumented status" are most likely unconstitutional under either the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause or the Supremacy Clause, or both. Although entitled to a right of access to free public schools, immigrant students are, however, bound by constitutional residency requirements of the state in which they reside. Such residency requirements must be properly defined, uniformly applied, and developed to further a substantial state interest. Not only do immigrant students enjoy the same right of access to public schools as do all other students in the U.S., but under state law, immigrant students, as all students, are also obligated to attend schools up to a state mandated age.

B. Right of Access

Under the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause

Under the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause, states and public schools are barred from denying immigrant students their right of access to public schools on the basis of race, national origin or alienage.

The Supreme Court has long held that state and local governments are prohibited under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from enacting classifications based on race, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), national origin, *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), or alienage, *Grabam v. Richardson*, 403 U.S. 365 (1971), which discriminate, deny benefits, or exclude from participation. Such classifications are deemed inherently suspect and require a compelling state interest precisely tailored to serve compelling governmental interest to be found constitutional. This standard has been described as 'strict' in theory and 'fatal' in fact. (Gunther: 1972).

Under the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause, states and public schools are for the most part barred from denying undocumented immigrant students their right of access to public schools on the basis of their legal status. In essence, the Supreme Court has held their right of access to be a semi-fundamental right.

Recently in *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), the Supreme Court ruled that states and public schools are prohibited under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from taking actions which treat undocumented students disparately solely on the basis of their immigration status if the treatment does not promote a substantial state interest. More precisely, the Court held: 1) undocumented immigrants (aliens) covered by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment; and, 2) state statutes which withhold from local school districts any state funds for the education of children who are not "legally admitted into the U.S., and which authorize local school districts to deny free enrollment in their schools to children who are not 'legally admitted' to the U.S.", in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court, in upholding their right of access, applied an intermediate level of review elevating undocumented students to a **semi-suspect class**, finding the right to schooling in this context to be a **semi-fundamental right**, making the right of access for undocumented students a **semi-fundamental right**.

* For further information on any of the issues discussed below, see: Willshire Carrera, *Legal Rights of Immigrant Students and Their Parents*. NCAS (1988)

D

Legal Survey^{*}

John Willshire Carrera, Esq.

If the State is to deny a discrete group of innocent [undocumented] children the free public education that it offers to other children residing within its borders, that denial must be justified by a showing that it furthers some substantial state interest. *Plyler* at 230.

"The Court [in *Plyer*] recognized that '[d]enying education to undocumented children imposes a lifetime hardship on a discrete class of children.' *Plyler* at 223. Further that '[i]n these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education.' *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954). Withholding education has been likened to 'penalizing these children for their presence within the United States,' a circumstance over which they generally have no control. *Plyler* at 220. Accordingly, children may be denied educational services only if a 'compelling' governmental purpose is served." (Holguin: 1987 at 22)

Protected by the Supremacy Clause

Under the Supremacy Clause, states and public schools are generally preempted from adopting practices and regulations which discriminate against immigrants (aliens). States and public schools, it appears, may regulate the right of access of immigrant students "residing" solely in the U.S. "temporarily" for the express purpose of studying. All such regulations must not impose additional burdens not contemplated by Congress.

It has long been determined that the federal government has almost exclusive plenary power over immigration. In *Toll v. Moreno*, 102 S. Ct. 2977 (1982), where the Supreme Court invalidated a state university's denial of in-state tuition benefits for nonimmigrant students, the Court held that any state regulations not congressionally sanctioned that discriminate against aliens lawfully admitted were preempted if they "imposed additional burdens not contemplated by Congress." *Id.* at 2983. The Court in *Plyler* also held that states had little if any power to classify immigrants (aliens).

The States enjoy no power with respect to the classification of aliens. See *Hines v. Davidowitz* 312 U.S. 52 (1941). This power is "committed to the political branches of the Federal Government." *Mathews v. Diaz*, 426 U.S. 67, 81 (1976). Although it is "a routine and normally legitimate part" of the business of the Federal Government to classify on the basis of alien status, *Id.*, at 85, and to "take into account the character of the relationship between the alien and this country," *Id.* at 80, only rarely are such matters relevant to legislation by a State. See *Id.* at 84-85; *Nyquist v. Mauchet* 432 U.S. 1, 7, note 8 (1977). Quoted in *Plyler* at 225.

The existence of the federal immigration power, however, does not automatically preclude state regulations affecting immigrants, *DeCanas v. Bica*, 424 U.S. 351 (1976).

[T]he Court has never held that every state enactment which in any way deals with aliens is a regulation of immigration and thus per se preempted by this constitutional immigration power, whether latent or exercised. *DeCanas* at 335.

In *Plyler*, although failing to find such authority, the Court also stated:

As we recognized in *DeCanas v. Bica* 424 U.S. 351 (1976), the States do have some authority to act with respect to illegal aliens, at least where such action mirrors federal objectives and furthers a legitimate state goal. *Plyler* at 225.

Congress has only exercised its plenary power (presumably constitutionally—See Legal Supplement for more information) in the area involving immigrant students (nonimmigrant students) attending primary and secondary public schools as to F-1 Visa holders'. It mandates, under the INA, that F-1 students (primary and secondary in this case) receive advanced permission from the INS before attending any school in this country, including public schools. [8 C.E.R. §214.2(f)(1)] Further, under the Act it grants INS power to revoke the F-1 visa should the student violate his/her status, [8 C.E.R. §214.2(1a)-(7)], or to withdraw permission of attendance should the school violate conditions of its relationship with INS, [8 C.E.R. §214.3(h)(1)(i)]. As a result, F-1 Visa holders do not have a right of access to public schools in the U.S. [Note: Undocumented students as well as students on other nonimmigrant visas are not to be confused with F-1 Visa-holding students for the purposes of this section.]

A student seeking admission to the United States under section 101(a)(15)(F)(i) of the Act...shall not be eligible for admission unless he presents Form I-20 properly filled out by himself and the school to which he is destined. [8 C.E.R. §214.2(f)(1)].

[See Legal Supplement for further analysis.]

C. Adherence to Bona Fide Residency Requirements

Immigrant Students entitled to a right of access to free public schools are, however, bound by constitutional residency requirements of the state in which they reside. State residency requirements are constitutional if they are properly defined, uniformly applied, and developed to further a substantial state interest.

Under constitutional state residency requirements, all school-age (immigrant) students must be deemed as residents if they or their parent or legal guardian live in the district with a bona fide intention of remaining there. The 'intention to remain' component of the traditional residency standard does not imply an intention never to leave. Given the mobility of people and families in this country, changing a place of residence is commonplace.

Immigrant students, as all other students, are bound by constitutional residency requirements of the state in which they reside.

Of course a school district may require that illegal alien children, like any other children, actually reside in the school district before admitting them to the schools. A requirement of de facto residency, uniformly applied, would not violate any principle of equal protection. (Powell, J., concurring) *Phyller* at 227, note 22. (Quoted in *Martinez* at 328).

The Supreme Court, in *Martinez v. Bynum*, 461 U.S. 321 (1983), defined constitutional residency requirements as follows:

A bona fide residence requirement, appropriately defined and uniformly applied, furthers the substantial state interest in assuring that services provided for its residents are enjoyed only by residents. Such a requirement with respect to attendance in public free schools does not violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It does not burden or penalize the constitutional right of interstate travel, for any person is free to move to a state and to establish residence there. A bona fide residence requirement simply requires that the person does establish residence before demanding the services that are restricted to residents. *Martinez v. Bynum*, 461 U.S. 321, 328 (1983).

The Court in *Phyller v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), further noted that such policies must be uniformly applied in order to be bona fide. States are prohibited from accomplishing what would otherwise be prohibited under the Equal Protection clause or the Supremacy Clause by defining a disfavored group as nonresident.

The Court in *Plyler* also held that the distinction between illegal aliens, on the one hand, and legal aliens and United States citizens, on the other, did not constitute a bona fide residency requirement.

A state may not, however, accomplish what would otherwise be prohibited by the Equal Protection Clause, merely by defining a disfavored group as nonresident. *Plyler v. Doe* 457 U.S. 202, 227 note 22, 102 S.Ct at 2400 note 22.

Immigrant students residing in the U.S. on nonimmigrant visas cannot be denied "resident status" by public schools solely on the basis of their nonimmigrant status. Such residency requirements have been held to be inherently suspect, requiring a compelling state interest. They have also been ruled non-bona fide residency requirements.

Although the Supreme Court has never ruled on this issue, a lower court in *Pena v. Board of Education of City of Atlanta*, 620 F.Supp. 293 (N.D.Ga. 1985), ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause was violated when the defendant, a local school district, required that tuition be paid for public school admission of the children of certain non-immigrants, including F-1 students, but not for all nonimmigrants, such as diplomats or journalists, or U.S. citizens whose residency in the school district was also for a temporary purpose such as attending university. The school district did not prove a compelling state interest nor was the residency requirement a bona fide residency requirement.

D. Documentation and Verification Requirements

Public schools are prohibited under *Plyler* from requiring information of immigrant students concerning their immigration status which will have the effect of "chilling" their right of access to public schools. This covers both the initial registration and daily activities.

Under *Plyler*, undocumented immigrant students have a right of access to public schools. Any requirement by public schools for information, the provision of which may possibly expose the undocumented status of the student, has the affect of "chilling" their right of access to schools. This applies both to information requested during registration and throughout the school year. Unless the state can justify such requirements with a legitimate substantial state interest, these requirements are unconstitutional under *Plyler*.

A number of states, school systems, and school districts (i.e., State of California and New York City School Department) have developed regulations or policy statements that prohibit the gathering of information from undocumented students which in effect "chills" their right of access and their duty to attend public schools until the state mandated age.

E. Right to be Free from INS Policing Actions In and Around Schools Which "Chill" Right of Access to a Free Public Education

Under *Plyler*, undocumented immigrant students have a right of access to public schools. Cooperation between a school and INS or any surveillance and policing activities conducted by INS on or near schools will have the effect of "chilling" the undocumented student's right of access to schools. Unless the state can justify such action with a legitimate substantial state interest, any such cooperation is suspect under *Plyler*.

Additionally, the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (20 U.S.C. §1232g) and similar state acts generally prohibit the sharing of personal data by school officials with anyone outside of the school without prior consent from a student's parents. As a result, any sharing of information with INS without prior parental consent is prohibited. Further, should a school approach the parent of an undocumented student or an undocumented parent to request their consent, it will have the effect of "chilling" the student's right of access to school in violation of *Plyler*.

F. Right to Educational Services While in INS Custody

The denial of educational services to juveniles detained in criminal and other settings even for short periods of time raises serious constitutional questions under *Plyler*. The provision of educational services to juveniles detained in criminal and other settings for more than a trivial period is mandated by contemporary national and international standards.

"In reality, children detained by the INS, even if technically deportable may remain in this country indefinitely. As the Supreme Court has recognized, '[T]here is no assurance that a child subject to deportation will ever be deported.' *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202, 223 (1982).

Denying education to undocumented children 'imposes a lifetime hardship on a discrete class of children'. *Plyler* at 223. 'In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education.' *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954). Withholding education has been likened to 'penalizing these children for their presence within the United States,' a circumstance over which they generally have no control. *Plyler* at 220.

Accordingly, children may be denied educational services only if a 'compelling' governmental purpose is served thereby. Neither the ostensible brevity of juveniles' confinement nor administrative cost-cutting has previously been considered a compelling reason to deny education." (Holguin:1987 at 22)

"INS has suggested that children are detained for such short periods that denying them education is insignificant. Even short deprivations of education raise serious constitutional questions. '[T]he total exclusion from the education process for more than a trivial period...is a serious event in the life of the suspended child.' *Goss v. Lopez*, 419 U.S. at 576 (1975)." (Holguin:1987 at 16)

"Judged against [the following] contemporary standards, the government's failure to provide education services to detained youth, even those detained for short periods, appears unjustified.

- a. United Nations Standard Minimum Rules For the Treatment of Prisoners. Rule 77
 - b. American Correctional Association Standards
 - c. National Association of Corrections
 - d. American Bar Association
 - e. IJA-ABA Juvenile Justice Standards"
- (Holguin:1987 at 16, 17)

II. Right to an Equitable Quality Education

A. Introduction

Although the Constitution does not expressly provide students with a right to a public education, nor has the Supreme Court to date found such a right in the Constitution, the Court has found education to be a semi-fundamental right for undocumented students and it has held that once a state undertakes to provide educational opportunities, they become a right which must be made available to all students on equal terms.

A broad range of language and cultural educational rights and services are founded on, mandated by and funded by the Fourteenth Amendment, federal case law, federal statutory law, and federal regulations, and federal civil rights law. In *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563, 94 S.Ct. 786, 39 L. Ed.2d 1 (1974), the Supreme Court held that schools have an affirmative obligation, under implementing regulations of Title VI, to take action to rectify language barriers which have the effect of excluding Limited English Proficient (LEP) children from meaningful participation in instructional programs. Recent enforcement of federal language rights is mainly being brought under 20 U.S.C. §1703(f) of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. The Fifth Circuit in *Castaneda v. Pickard*, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981), developed standards with which to review §1703(f) actions and mandate remedies. This framework has been adopted by a number of other circuits as well. Although not law in circuits which have yet to adopt them, this framework and the ensuing case law are strong precedents to be adhered to by local courts. The 9th Circuit in *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education*, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981), has held that state educational agencies are also covered by Section 1703(f). The 7th Circuit in *Gomez v. Illinois State Board of Education*, 811 F.2d 1030 (7th Cir. 1987), has further held that the *Castaneda* framework applies to the analysis of cases involving state educational agencies. Finally, the federal Bilingual Education Act—Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968—provides for a number of additional requirements which must be adhered to by grantees once funding has been accepted.

B. Right to Equal Treatment in Schools

The Constitution does not expressly provide students with a right to a public education. Nor has the Court to date found such a right in the Constitution. *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, 411 U.S. 1, 93 S. Ct. 1278 (1973). It has, however, in *Plyler* held education to be a semi-fundamental right under the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause for students in particular situations.

Although the Supreme Court has yet to hold education a fundamental right, it has consistently depicted education as playing a fundamental role in maintaining the fabric of American society.

Public Education is not a "right" granted to individuals by the Constitution. *San Antonio Independent School Dist. v. Rodriguez* 411 U.S. 1, 36 L. Ed. 2d 16, 93 S. Ct. 1278 (1973). But neither is it merely some governmental "benefit" indistinguishable from other forms of social welfare legislation. Both the importance of education in maintaining our basic institutions, and the lasting impact of its deprivation on the life of the child, mark the distinction. The "American people have always regarded education and [the] acquisition of knowledge as matters of supreme importance." *Meyer v. Nebraska* 262 U.S. 390, 400, 67 L. Ed. 1042, 43 S. Ct. 625 (1923). We have recognized "the public schools as a most vital civic institution for the preservation of a democratic system of government," *Abington School District v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, 230, 10 L. Ed. 844, 83 S. Ct. 1560 (1963) (Brennan, J., concurring), and as the primary vehicle for transmitting "the values on which our society rests." *Ambach v. Norwick* 411 U.S. 68, 76, 60 L. Ed. 2d 49, 99 S. Ct. 1589 (1979). "[A]s...pointed out early in our history,...some degree of education is necessary to prepare citizens to participate effectively and intelligently in our open political system if we are to preserve freedom and independence." *Wisconsin v. Yoder* 406 U.S. 205, 221 (1972). And these historic "perceptions of the public schools as inculcating fundamental values necessary to the maintenance of a democratic political system have been confirmed by the observations of social scientists." *Ambach v. Norwick*, *supra*, at 77. In addition, education provides the basic tools by which individuals might lead economically productive lives to the benefit of us all. In sum, education has a fundamental role in maintaining the fabric of our society. We cannot ignore the significant social costs borne by our Nation when select groups are denied the means to absorb the values and skill upon which our social order rests. *Plyler* at 221.

In *Plyler*, the Court, in upholding the right of access for undocumented students, applied an intermediate level of review elevating undocumented students to a **semi-suspect class**, finding the right to schooling in this context to be a **semi-fundamental right**, making the right of access for undocumented students a **semi-fundamental right**. (See Section I. B., "Right of Access," *supra*, for more information.)

"Almost twenty years later, the Court, in furthering that same principle [the *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), right to equal treatment in schools], ruled that undocumented immigrant students and all other immigrant students had a quasi-fundamental right to access public schools. The Court recognized that '[d]enying education to undocumented children imposes a lifetime hardship on a discrete class of children.' *Plyler* at 223. Further that '[i]n these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. *Brown v. Board of Education* 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954). Withholding education has been likened to 'penalizing these children for their presence within the United States,' a circumstance over which they generally have no control.' *Plyler* at 220." (Holguin:1987 at 22)

The Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), however, clearly enunciated the principle that all children are entitled to equal educational opportunities. It held that all primary and secondary students have an equal right to all educational opportunities made available by the state. Once a state undertakes to provide educational opportunities, they become a right which must be made available to all students on equal terms.

[I]n these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. *Brown v. Board of Education* at 497.

C. Federal Language and Cultural Educational Rights for Linguistic Minority Students: LEP and Bilingual Instructional Programs

"Much of the basis for the modern use of bilingual education came as a result of federal law, administrative regulations and guidelines, and judicial decree." (LaFontaine:1987 at 23)

Federal language and cultural educational rights and services are founded on, mandated by the Fourteenth Amendment, federal case law, federal statutory law and federal regulations. The preceding are components of federal civil rights law.

The denial of equal educational opportunities to students of limited English proficiency are proscribed by the:

- Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States (Equal Protection Clause and Due Process Clause);
- *Lau v. Nichols* 414 U.S. 563, 94 S.Ct. 786, 39 L. Ed 2d 1 (1974);
- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. Section 2000d, *et seq.* (hereinafter Title VI), 34 C.F.R. Section 100.1, *et seq.* (In particular, the implementing regulations);
- Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C. Section 1703(f) *et seq.*;
- Federal case law (District and Circuit court) — largely interpreting rights created under *Lau*, the §2000d implementing regulations and §1703(f).

The mandate for and/or funding of educational and remedial services specifically to students of limited English proficiency are provided by:

- Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C. Section 1703(f) *et seq.* (and case law derived thereof);
- Federal case law (District and Circuit court)—largely interpreting rights created under *Lau*, the §2000d implementing regulations and §1703(f) [*infra*];
- Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968, 20 U.S.C. §§3221 *et seq.* (hereinafter Bilingual Education Act) (The Bilingual Education Act provides funding for bilingual programs [to be distributed as grants] and mandates a number of obligations on the part of grantees [See Section II. D., *infra*]. LEP rights do not arise out of the Bilingual Education Act) unless the agency receives funding under the act;
- Implementing Regulations of Title IV (Used in desegregation context.);
- State Bilingual Education Acts²⁴.

Under developing federal law, school districts have an affirmative obligation to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs.

The Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563, 94 S.Ct. 786, 39 L. Ed.2d 1 (1974), that schools have an affirmative obligation, under Title VI, to take action to rectify language barriers which have the effect of excluding linguistic minority children from meaningful participation in the educational programs.

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. *Lau* at 566.

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. *Lau* at 566.

The petitioners in *Lau* did not specifically request, nor did the Court require, court ordered relief in the form of bilingual education; the plaintiffs in that case sought only "that the Board of Education be directed to apply this expertise to the problem..." *Castaneda* at 1006.

"The 'sink or swim' approach was specifically outlawed by the Supreme Court in its 1974 decision in *Lau v. Nichols*." (LaFontaine:1987 at 33).

Recent enforcement of federal language rights is mainly being brought under 20 U.S.C. §1703(f) of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. The Fifth Circuit in *Castaneda v. Pickard*, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981), developed standards with which to review §1703(f) actions and mandate remedies. These standards have been adopted by a number of other circuits as well. These standards and the ensuing case law are strong precedents to be adhered to by local courts.

"The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 was, ironically, an anti-busing measure. Nevertheless, as part of the compromise to get the legislation passed, it contained a litany of activities declared to be unlawful practices and gave individuals the right to sue under the Act. One unlawful practice listed is 'the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by the students in its instructional program.' This terse language was converted into a meaningful standard by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Castaneda v. Pickard*. The searching analysis by the court and its common sense conclusions as to a court's duty when confronted with a section 1703(f) challenge to a school district's program give the opinion great weight and dictate the evidentiary presentation of *Keyes*. (Roos:1986 at 262)

The 5th Circuit in *Castaneda* developed a framework with which to review §1703(f) actions which includes: a tripartite test; a dual obligation to teach students English and to take appropriate action to ensure that English-language deficiencies do not constitute a barrier to the acquisition of substantive knowledge; and an obligation to overcome all barriers to equal education.

***Castaneda* Tripartite Test**

First the court must examine carefully the evidence the record contains concerning the soundness of the educational theory or principles upon which the challenged program is based...the court's responsibility, insofar as educational theory is concerned, is only to ascertain that a school system is pursuing a program informed by an educational theory recognized as sound by some experts in the field, or, at least, deemed a legitimate experimental strategy.

The court's second inquiry would be whether the programs and practices actually used by a school system are reasonably calculated to implement effectively the educational theory adopted by the school. We do not believe that it may fairly be said that a school system is taking appropriate action to remedy language barriers if, despite the adoption of a promising theory, the system fails to follow through with practices, resources and personnel necessary to transform the theory into reality.

Finally, a determination that a school system has adopted a sound program for alleviating the language barriers impeding the educational progress of some of its students and made bona fide efforts to make the program work does not necessarily end the court's inquiry into the appropriateness of the system's actions. If a school's program, although premised on a legitimate educational theory and implemented through the use of adequate techniques, fails, after being employed for a period of time sufficient to give the plan legitimate trial, to produce results indicating that the language barriers confronting students are actually being overcome, that program may, at that point, no longer constitute appropriate action as far as the school is concerned. We do not believe that Congress intended that under 1703(f) a school would be free to persist in a policy which, although it may have been appropriate when adopted, in the sense that there were sound expectations for success and bona fide efforts to make the program work, has, in practice, proved a failure. *Castaneda* at 1009-1010.

"On remand in *Keyes v. School District No. 1*, 576 F. Supp. 1503 (D. Colo. 1983), the court analyzed Denver's bilingual program under the *Castaneda* tripartite test and found that the school district failed to take reasonable action to implement the bilingual education policy which it adopted." *Id.* at 371. Denver was ordered to develop an appropriate remedial plan." (Rom:1985 at 22)

Appropriate Action as defined by *Castaneda*

Congress has provided us with little guidance for the interpretation of §1703(f). The term "appropriate action" used in that provision indicates that the federal legislature did not mandate a specific program for language instruction, but rather conferred substantial latitude on state and local educational authorities in choosing their programs to meet the obligations imposed by federal law. But, as noted in *Castaneda*, 648 F.2d at 1009, "Congress also must have intended to insure that schools made a genuine and good faith effort, consistent with local circumstances and resources, to remedy the language deficiencies of their students and deliberately placed on federal courts the difficult responsibility of determining whether that obligation had been met." *Gomez* at 1041.

Congress' use of the less specific term 'appropriate action', rather than 'bilingual education', indicates that Congress intended to leave state and local educational authorities a substantial amount of latitude in choosing the programs and techniques they would use to meet their obligations under the EEOA. *Castaneda* at 1008-9.

Dual Obligation

"The court found that a school district has a dual obligation under Section 1703(f). The school district must first develop a program to teach students English. More importantly, the school district must have a program that assures that English-language deficiencies do not constitute barriers to the acquisition of substantive knowledge conveyed through the school curriculum. While holding that these dual obligations need not be executed simultaneously through a bilingual education program, the court ruled that the schools must design programs which enable students to 'attain parity of participation in the standard instructional program within a reasonable length of time after they enter the school system.'" (Boos at 263).

Obligation to Overcome All Barriers

And finally, the Court ruled that a school district has the right to choose any sound pedagogical approach it wishes, but must implement it in a manner which assures that all barriers to equal education are overcome. *Castaneda* at 648 F.2d at 1009.

Under developing federal law, state educational agencies have an affirmative obligation under Section 1703(f) to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by students in state public schools. *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education*, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981). The 7th Circuit in *Gomez v. Illinois State Board of Education*, 811 F.2d 1030 (7th Cir. 1987), held that §1703(f) places an affirmative obligation on both state and local educational agencies to provide equal education opportunities to their students.

We concur in the conclusion of the Ninth Circuit in *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education*, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981), that Section 1703(f) requires that state, as well as local, educational agencies ensure that the needs of LEP children are met. *Gomez* at 1042.

The defendants maintain that the *Castaneda* decision applies only to local school districts. We disagree. There is certainly no language in that case to suggest that it is so limited. *Gomez* at 1042.

We cannot accept such an interpretation of the EEOA. Section 1703(f) could hardly be called detailed, but it does make clear, through the definition of the term "educational agency," that the obligation to take "appropriate action" falls on both state and local educational agencies. *Gomez* at 1042.

The 7th Circuit in *Gomez* adopted the *Castaneda* framework and ordered the lower court to use it as a starting point for its analysis of the cause of action at hand.

There will be, of course, differences in the application of the *Castaneda* analysis depending on whether a state or a local program is at issue. The question is primarily one of the intensity of judicial review. For example, the state school board and its superintendent are obviously not directly involved in the classroom education process. Thus, state educational agencies can only set general guidelines in establishing and assuring the implementation of the state's programs. That does not mean, however, that they have no obligations under the EEOA, for even those general measures must constitute "[a]ppropriate action." If a local district is involved, however, then a consideration of what actually occurs in the classroom might be appropriate. *Gomez* at 1042.

The 7th Circuit, in deciding the scope of the state educational agency's obligation under §1703(f) for implementation of programs designed to provide LEP children with an equal educational opportunity, held that:

[A]ppropriate action involved more than just "issu[ing] regulations that fail to provide local districts with adequate and uniform guidelines for identifying and placing LEP children in a transitional bilingual education program[.]" *Gomez* at 1042.

It also held that monitoring and enforcement of the program chosen by the state's legislature must be included. *Gomez* at 1042.

D. Other Obligations and Requirements Provided for by Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968, 20 U.S.C. §§3221 *et seq.*—Bilingual Education Act

Once a state agency or public school system applies for and is granted funds under the federal Bilingual Education Act, the grantee is obligated to comply with an additional set of requirements:

§501.41—What additional requirements apply to programs of transitional bilingual education?

- (a) A grantee under the programs of transitional bilingual education shall comply with all additional requirements found in the definition of program of transitional bilingual education in Section 703(a)(4)(B)-(D) of the Act and 34 C.F.R. 500.4 regarding
 - (1) The forty percent restriction on the participation of children whose language is English;
 - (2) The participation of IEP children in regular classes in courses such as art, music, and physical education;
 - (3) The requirement that the programs must be offered in the schools the children normally attend; and
 - (4) How the children must be grouped in graded and nongraded classrooms.

34 C.F.R. 501.42

E. State Language and Cultural Educational Rights for Linguistic Minority Students: LEP and Bilingual Instructional Services

Language and cultural rights, services and funding are often provided for by state statutes and case law. A number of states have, in part, developed significant law in this area. In certain instances, state statutes and case law provide language minority students with even greater language and cultural rights than under federal law. In many instances, they also provide large additional sources of funding.

III. Parental Rights to Due Process and Participation

Parents must be consulted during preparation of application for Title VII (federal Bilingual Education Act) grants and throughout the life of the program. Permanent committees of parents, teachers, and other interested individuals (including students, for high school programs) must be coordinated to ensure proper levels of consultation and participation.

20 U.S.C. §3231 (c) of the Bilingual Education Act (See 34 C.F.R. 501.21) provides:

An application for a grant authorized under subsections (a)(1), (a)(2), and (a)(3) of this Section shall—

- (1) be developed in consultation with an advisory council, of which a majority shall be parents and other representatives of the children to be served in such programs, in accordance with criteria prescribed by the Secretary;...
- (3) contain assurances that, after the application has been approved, the applicant will provide for the continuing consultation with, and participation by, the committee of parents, teachers, and other interested individuals which shall be selected by and predominantly composed of parents of children participating in the program, and in the case of programs carried out in secondary schools, representatives of the secondary students to be served.

Parents must also be informed of instructional goals of program and child's progress.

Parents, under Title VII, of children participating in programs assisted under this title [20 U.S.C. 3221 *et seq.*] shall be informed of the instructional goals of the program and the progress of their children in such programs. 20 U.S.C. §3223(c) (See 34 C.F.R. 501.40)

Parents of students identified for enrollment in Title VII bilingual education programs must be informed of students' need for program, alternatives, nature of bilingual program, and the option to decline enrollment in the program.

Parents or legal guardians of students identified for enrollment in bilingual education programs shall be informed of (i) the reasons for the selection of their child as in need of bilingual education, (ii) the alternative educational programs that are available, and (iii) the nature of the bilingual education program and of the instructional alternatives. Parents shall also be informed that they have the option of declining enrollment of their children in such programs and shall be given an opportunity to do so if they so choose. 20 U.S.C. §3231(d)(1)(D) (See 34 C.F.R. 501.40)

Other federal and state statutes also provide for or mandate due process procedures and the provision of translators and translated materials for linguistic minority parents.

IV. Emerging Rights Under International Human Rights Law

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, U.N.G.A. Resolution 217 A(3) October 12, 1948, the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Annex 2, U.N.G.A. Resolution 2200 (XXX) (Adopted Dec. 16, 1966; came into force January 3, 1976), and the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights, Annex 2, U.N.G.A. Resolution 2200 (XXI) (Adopted Dec. 16, 1966; came into force March 23, 1976), all expressly provide a right to education and a right to be free from discrimination.

Under Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, students have a right to an education, particularly a primary education, which shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights provides students with a right to a quality education, particularly to an elementary education. And under Article 27 of the International Covenant On Civil and Political Rights, students, in community with other members of their group, have a right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Under the Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 3 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Political Rights and Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, students have a right to be free from discrimination of any kind, such as that based on race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

It is unclear to what extent the above-listed Declaration and Covenants may be relied on at this moment. It is, however, imperative that the U.S. ratify the two covenants in the immediate future.

Table of Cases

Although not exhaustive, the following list includes many of the significant cases, arranged alphabetically, which apply to the issues addressed in this Supplement:

- Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).
Castaneda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
DeCanas v. Bica, 424 U.S. 351, 96 S. Ct. 933 (1976).
Gomez v. Illinois State Bd. of Education, 811 F.2d 1030 (7th Cir. 1987).
Graham v. Richardson, 403 U.S. 365, 91 S. Ct. 1848 (1971).
Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981).
Keyes v. School District No. 1, 576 F. Supp. 1503 (D. Colo. 1983).
Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214, 65 S. Ct. 193 (1944).
Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563, 94 S. Ct. 786 (1974).
Martinez v. Bynum, 461 U.S. 321, 103 S. Ct. 1838 (1983).
Mathews v. Diaz, 426 U.S. 67, 96 S. Ct. 1883 (1976).
Morgan v. Sproat, 432 F. Supp. 1130 (S.D. Miss. 1977).
Pena v. Board of Educ. of City of Atlanta, 620 F. Supp. 293 (N.D. Ga. 1985).
Perez-Finez v. District Director, 619 F. Supp. 656 (C.D. Cal. 1985).
Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202, 102 S. Ct. 2382 (1982).
San Antonio School District v. Rodriguez, 411 U.S. 1, 93 S. Ct. 1278 (1973).
Toll v. Moreno, 458 U.S. 1, 102 S. Ct. 2977 (1982).

General Bibliography

- Gunther, *The Supreme Court, 1971 Term — Foreword: In Search of Evolving Doctrine on a Changing Court: A Model for a Newer Equal Protection*, 86 Harv. L. Rev. 1, 8 (1972).
 Holguin, "Children in INS Prisons: An Educational Assessment", Paper commissioned by the Immigrant Student Project — NCAS (Spring 1987).
 LaFontaine, "At Risk Children and Youth: The Extra Educational Challenge of Limited English Proficient Students", Paper submitted to The Council of Chief State School Officers — Summer Institute — Whitefish, Montana (August 4, 1987).
 Rom, *The Evolution of Legal Requirements for the Education of Students of Limited English Proficiency*, 29 BOSTON BAR J. 16 (Oct. 1985).
 Roos, *Implementation of The Federal Bilingual Education Mandate: The Keyes Case as a Paradigm*, 1 LA RAZA L. REV. 257 (1986).

Footnotes

1. Unless otherwise defined, immigrants for the purposes of this survey include both documented and undocumented 'aliens'.
2. Pub. L. No. 82-414, 66 Stat. 163 (codified as amended at 8 U.S.C. §1101 *et seq.*)
3. In *Plyler*, the Court stated that:
 [A] state may borrow the federal classification [alien classification in this case]. But to justify its use as a criterion for its own discriminatory policy, the state must demonstrate that the classification is reasonably adapted to "the purposes for which the state desires to use it" *Oyama v. California*, 332 U.S. 633, 664-5. (1948) (Murphy, J., concurring) (emphasis added).
4. J Visa and M Visa holders, the only other bona fide students authorized under the INA to pursue a full course of study, are not included in this analysis as J and M Visas are not normally granted to primary and secondary students.
5. The Statute reads:
 No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

6. The Statute reads:

Section 1703: No State shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin, by:

(f) the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs.

7. *For example*

First State Bilingual Law Enacted

Massachusetts — Transitional Bilingual Education Act — TBE — M.G.L. Chapter 71A. Requires school districts in Massachusetts to provide instruction in the students' native language until they are proficient in English, requires instruction in the culture of the students' background, and provides for parental involvement through the creation of parent advisory councils (PACs).

8. State Laws Regarding Bilingual Education
1985–1986

Alabama	No Statute	New Hampshire	Permitted
Alaska	Mandated by Statute	New Jersey	Mandated
Arizona	Mandated by Statute	New Mexico	Permitted
Arkansas	No Statute	New York	Permitted
California	No Statute	North Carolina	No Statute
Colorado	Permitted	North Dakota	No Statute
Connecticut	Mandated by Statute	Ohio	No Statute
Delaware	No Statute	Oklahoma	Permitted
D.C.	No Statute	Oregon	No Statute
Florida	No Statute	Pennsylvania	No Statute
Georgia	No Statute	Rhode Island	Permitted
Hawaii	No Statute	South Carolina	No Statute
Idaho	No Statute	South Dakota	Permitted
Illinois	Mandated by Statute	Tennessee	No Statute
Indiana	Permitted	Texas	Mandated by Statute
Iowa	Mandated by Statute	Utah	Permitted
Kansas	Permitted	Vermont	No Statute
Kentucky	No Statute	Virginia	No Statute
Louisiana	No Statute	Washington	Mandated by Statute
Maine	Permitted	West Virginia	Prohibited by Statute
Maryland	No Statute	Wisconsin	Mandated by Statute
Massachusetts	Mandated by Statute	Wyoming	Permitted
Michigan	Mandated by Statute	American Samoa	Permitted
Minnesota	Permitted	Guam	Mandated by Statute
Mississippi	No Statute	N. Mariana	No Statute
Missouri	No Statute	Puerto Rico	No Statute
Montana	No Statute	Tr. Terr. of	No Statute
Nebraska	No Statute	Pacific	
Nevada	No Statute	Virgin Islands	Permitted

Source: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education *Forum*, March 1986.

Chapter I: Forces of Change

Literature

- Archdeacon, Thomas J. (1983). *Becoming American, An Ethnic History*. The Free Press, NY, MacMillan, Inc.
- Bernard, William S. (1982). "A History of U.S. Immigration Policy," *Dimensions of Ethnicity*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Bouvier, Leon E and Anthony J. Agresta (1987). "The Future Asian Population of the United States," *Pacific Bridges: The New Immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands*, Fawcett and Carino, Editors, NY, Center for Migration Studies.
- Degler, et al. (1973). *The Democratic Experience*, Glenview, IL, Scott, Foresman, and Company.
- Haney, Walter (1987). "An Estimation of Immigrant and Immigrant Student Populations in the United States as of October, 1986," (Background Paper for Immigrant Student Project), Boston College, Boston, MA.
- Harding, Vincent (1981). *There Is a River*, NY, Vintage Books, Random House.
- Hodgkinson, Harold L. (1986). "Here They Come, Ready or Not," Special Report for *Education Week*, Washington, D.C.
- Hodgkinson, Harold L. (1985). *All One System*, Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc., Washington, D.C.
- Hodgkinson, Harold L. (1986). *Future Search*, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
- McCoy, et al., *Time Magazine*, Special Issue on Immigration, July, 1985, NY, Time/Life Publishing Company.
- Muller, Thomas and Thomas Espenshade (1985). *The Fourth Wave*, Washington, D.C., The Urban Institute Press.
- McCarthy, Kevin F. and R. Valdez (1986). *Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California*, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA.
- Olsen, Laurie (1988). *Crossing the School House Border*, California Tomorrow, San Francisco, CA.
- Passel, Dr. Jeffrey S., Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law, September 11, 1985, Washington, D.C.
- Rumbaut, Ruben and Weeks (1986). "Fertility and Adaptation: Indochinese Refugees in the United States," *International Migration Review*, Vol. XX, No. 2.
- Stein, Barry (1981). "Understanding the Refugee Experience: Foundations for a Better Resettlement System," *Journal of Refugee Resettlement*, Vol. 1, No. 4.
- United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census, Washington, D.C.
- United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Surveys, 1982, 1985, 1988, Washington, D.C.
- Walker, Wendy (1987). "Demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Populations," (Background paper for NCAS Immigrant Student Project), Cambridge, MA.
- Walker, Wendy (1987). "Vulnerabilities of Immigrant Populations," (Background paper for NCAS Immigrant Student Project), Berkeley, CA.
- Wallace, Stephen P. (1986). "Central American and Mexican Characteristics and Economic Incorporation in California," *International Migration Review*, Volume 20, Center for Migration Studies, NY.

Endnotes

1. Unless otherwise noted, the term immigrant as used in this report includes foreign-born persons residing in the United States, such as: citizens, permanent residents, refugees, asylees, those here under color of law, on voluntary departure, under some other legal status, or alternatively, without legal permission.
2. Taylor/San Francisco.

E

References and Additional Reading

Chapter 2: Coming to a New Land

Literature

- Alvarez, Maricia (1986). "Task Force on Central American Refugees, Commission on Hispanic Affairs. Report on Mental Health Issues and Service Needs." Report prepared for the Massachusetts Commission on Hispanic Affairs.
- Arroyo, William (1987). "Children in INS Detention Centers" (A paper commissioned by The Immigrant Student Project of NCAS, Fall, 1987).
- Boothby, Neil (1986). "Children and War," *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Cambridge, MA.
- Cortez, Albert (1987). "A Background Paper on Immigrant Students in Texas Public Schools," (Prepared for NCAS Immigrant Student Project), San Antonio, TX.
- Farley, Reynolds and L. Neidert (1986). "How Effective was the Melting Pot? An Analysis of Ethnic Differences in the United States," Research Report No. 84-68, December 1984. Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.
- Gee, James Paul (1986) "Orality and Literacy: From the Savage Mind to Ways with Words," in *TESOL Quarterly*.
- Greer (1972) from Prickett, 1983.
- Haney, Walter (1987). "An Estimation of Immigrant and Immigrant Student Populations in the United States as of October, 1986," (A background paper for NCAS Immigrant Student Project) Boston College, Boston.
- Hodgkinson, Harold (1986). *All One System*, Institute for Educational Leadership, Washington, D.C.
- Holguin, Carlos (1987). "Children in INS Prisons: An Educational Assessment," A paper commissioned by NCAS Immigrant Student Project, Boston.
- Morales, Jim (1987). "Improvements Ahead in INS Treatment of Detained Children," *Journal for the National Center for Youth Law*, "Law News," 1987.
- National Health Law Program, Inc. (1987). "Health Care for Aliens Under the New Immigration Act and OBRA," Los Angeles.
- National Health Law Program, Inc. (1987). "Public Benefits for Aliens Under the New Immigration Act," Los Angeles.
- National Immigration, Refugee & Citizenship Forum (1986). "The Language Task Force: A Concept Paper on Replacing English-Only with English-Plus," Washington, D.C.
- Niyekawa, Agnes M. (1986). "Biliteracy Acquisition and its Sociocultural Effects," in *Asian and Pacific-American Perspectives in Bilingual Education*. Ed. Mae Chu-Chang. NY: Teachers College Columbia University.
- Ouk, Mary (1986). "Cross-Communication Signs," Southeast Asian Learners Project, Long Beach (CA) Unified School District.
- Passel (1985), Dr. Jeffrey S., Testimony before the U. S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law, September 11, 1985, Washington, D.C.
- Perlmann, Joel (1988). *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure Among the Irish, Italians, Jews and Blacks in an American City 1880-1935*, forthcoming fall 1988, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.
- Philips, Susan (1971) from Courtney Cazden, *et al.* (1986). "The Contribution of Ethnographic Research to Bicultural Bilingual Education," Georgetown University Round Table and Language and Linguistics (1980) Editor, James Alatis, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.
- Prickett, Mary Kathryn (1983). "A Description of an Effective Refugee Support System to Aid Young Children to Success in Schools in Southern California," University of Southern California.
- Reubens, 1978 in Passel, 1985.
- Stephen, Lynn, M. Eisenbruch, and H. Lockwood (1985). "An Outcome Study of the MICAS Summer '84 School: Adaptation and Adjustment of Khmer Refugee Children in the United States." Submitted to the Office of Refugee Resettlement, Washington, D.C.
- Walker, Wendy (1987). "Demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Populations," (Background paper for NCAS Immigrant Student Project), Cambridge, MA.

- Walker, Wendy (1987). "Vulnerabilities of Immigrant Populations," (Background paper for NCAS Immigrant Student Project), Berkeley, CA.
- Wallace, Stephen P. (1986). "Central American and Mexican Characteristics and Economic Incorporation in California," *International Migration Review*, Volume 20, Center for Migration Studies, NY.

Endnotes

1. Hmong female, 12, Long Beach, CA.
2. Vietnamese female, 12, Los Angeles, CA.
3. National Immigration, Refugee & Citizenship Forum (1986). "The Language Task Force: A Concept Paper on Replacing English-Only with English-Plus."
4. Burchard/San Francisco.
5. Ying Chen/New York.
6. Katen/San Francisco.
7. Uriarte/Boston.
8. Ying Chen/New York.
9. Jarvis/New York.
10. Vietnamese female, 12, Los Angeles.
11. Javier/Los Angeles.
12. Tianne/Los Angeles.
13. Center for Migration Studies (1986). "Central American and Mexican Immigrant Characteristics," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 20, fall issue, New York.
14. Ying Chen/New York.
15. Project Case Study, #4.
16. National Health Law Program, Inc. (1987). "Health Care for Aliens Under the New Immigration Act and OBRA," Los Angeles.
17. National Health Law Program, Inc. (1987). "Public Benefits for Aliens Under the New Immigration Act," Los Angeles.
18. Chapman (1975), Lesko (1975), Corwin (1981), quoted in Passel (1985).
19. Yamagata-Noji/Los Angeles.
20. Walker (1987).

Chapter 3: The Challenge

Literature

- Bachman, J.G. *et al.* (1971). "Dropping Out: Problem or Symptom?," *Youth in Transition* Vol. 3, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor.
- Children's Defense Fund (1975). *School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children?*, Washington, D.C.
- Cortez, Albert (1987). "A Background Paper on Immigrant Students in Texas Public Schools," Intercultural Development Research Association, San Antonio (A paper prepared for NCAS Immigrant Student Project.)
- Cummins, Jim (1984). *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy*, College-Hill Press, San Diego.
- First, Joan M. and Hayes Mizell (1980). *Everybody's Business: A Book About School Discipline*, Southeastern Public Education Program, Columbia, SC.
- Howe, Harold and Marian Edelman (1985). *Barriers to Excellence: Our Children at Risk*, the final report of a commission named by the National Coalition of Advocates for Students, Boston.
- Howe, Harold, *et al.* (1986). *Keeping the Options Open*, a final report of the Commission on Pre-college Guidance and Counseling, The College Entrance Examination Board, New York.
- Hull, Elizabeth (1983). "Undocumented Alien Children and Free Public Education: An Analysis of *Phyllis v. Doe*," *University of Pittsburgh Law Review*, Pittsburgh.

- LaFontaine, Hernan (1987). "At Risk Children and Youth — The Extra Educational Challenges of Limited English Proficient Students," a paper prepared for the Council of Chief State School Officers' 1987 Summer Institute, Washington, D.C.
- Macari, Ann (1986). "Arm Broken in Paddling for Speaking Creole," *The Miami Herald*, March 1, 1986.
- Madaus, George F and Diana Pullin (1986). "Questions to Ask When Evaluating a High-Stakes Testing Program," NCAS Press Backgrounder, June, 1986.
- Miller, H. (1916). "The School and the Immigrant," Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland.
- Oxford, Carpenter, *et al.* (1984). "Demographic Projections of Non-English-Language-Background and Limited-English-Proficient Persons in the United States in the Year 2,000 by State, Age, and Language Group." InterAmerica Research Associates, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Rosslyn, VA.
- National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1987). *A Special Analysis of the 1984 Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey Data*, Boston.
- U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights (1988). 1986 Elementary and Secondary School Survey Data, National and State Summaries, Washington, D.C.

Endnotes

1. Kao/New York.
2. Panel Member/New York.

Chapter 4: Parents and Community

Literature

- Comer, J. P. (1984). "Home-school Relationships and How They Affect the Academic Success of Children," *Education and Urban Society*.
- Cummins, J. (1986). "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 56, No. 1, February, 1986, Cambridge, MA.
- Davis, D. (1988). *Benefits and Barriers to Parent Involvement*, Unpublished manuscript, Institute for Responsive Education, Boston.
- Epstein, J. L. and H.J. Becker (1982). "Teacher's Reported Practices of Parent Involvement: Problems and Possibilities," *Elementary School Journal*.
- Hess, R. D. and S.D. Holloway (1984). "Family and School as Educational Institutions." In R. D. Parke, R. N. Emde, N. P. McAdoo, & G. P. Sackett (Eds.), *Review of Child Development Research: Vol. 7. The Family*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., O.C. Bassler, and J.S. Brissie (1987). "Parent Involvement: Contributions of Teacher Efficacy, School Socioeconomic Status, and Other School Characteristics," *American Educational Research Journal*.
- Lightfoot, S.L. (1981). "Toward Conflict and Resolution: Relationships Between Families and Schools," *Theory into Practice*.
- Tizard, J., W.N. Schofield, and J. Hewison (1982). "Collaboration Between Teachers and Parents in Assisting Children's Reading," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (1983). "The Language Learner as an Individual: Implications of Research on Individual Differences for the ESL Teacher. In M.A. Clarke & J. Handscombe (Eds.), *IBSOL 82 Pacific Perspectives on Language Learning and Teaching*. Washington, D.C.: IBSOL.

Endnotes

1. Hai Tran/Project National Advisory Panel.
2. Joseph Etienne/New York.

Chapter 5: Finding Solutions

Literature

- Cardenas, Jose A. and Blandina Cardenas (1977). *The Theory of Incompatibilities: A Conceptual Framework for Responding to the Educational Needs of Mexican American School Children*. The Intercultural Development Research Association, San Antonio.
- Cummins, Jim (1984). *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy*. College-Hill Press, San Diego.
- Cummins, Jim (1986). "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention," *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 56, No. 1.
- Edmonds, Ronald (1982). "Programs of School Improvement: An Overview," *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 40.
- Fillmore, Lily Wong, et al. (1985). "Learning English Through Bilingual Education," The National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.
- Fine, Michelle (1987). "Silencing in Public Schools," *Language Arts*, Vol. 64, No. 2.
- Fine, Michelle (1985). "Perspectives on Inequity: Voices from Urban Schools." In *Applied Social Psychology Annual 14*, edited by L. Brickmann, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.
- First, Joan M. (1987). A Proposal to the Ford Foundation for General Support of the National Coalition of Advocates for Students.
- (GAO) United States General Accounting Office Report (1987). "Bilingual Education: Research and Evaluation Contracts," Washington, D.C.
- Gallup, Alec M. (1986). "The 18th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public School," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Bloomington, IN.
- Goodlad, John I. (1984). *A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Goodlad, John (1984). "The Uncommon Common School," *Education and Urban Society*, Vol. 16, No. 3, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.
- Harding, Vincent (1981). *There Is a River*, NY, Vintage Books, Random House, New York.
- Howe, Harold and Marian Edelman (1985). *Barriers to Excellence: Our Children at Risk* final report of the NCAS Board of Inquiry Project, Boston.
- Howe, Harold, et al. (1986). *Keeping the Options Open: A Final Report of the Commission on Pre-college Guidance and Counseling*, The College Entrance Examination Board, New York.
- Howe, Harold, et al. (1988). *The Forgotten Half: Non-College Bound Youth in America*, an interim report of the W.T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship.
- LaFontaine, Hernan (1987). "At-Risk Children and Youth — The Extra Educational Challenges of Limited English Proficient Students," a paper prepared for the 1987 Summer Institute of the Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.
- National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1987). *A Special Analysis of the 1984 Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey Data*, Boston.
- Oakes, Jeannie (1986). "Tracking, Inequality and the Rhetoric of Reform: Why Schools Don't Change," *The Journal of Education*, Boston University, Boston.
- Oakes, Jeannie (1986). "Keeping Track, Part I: The Policy and Practice of Curriculum Inequality," *Phi Delta Kappan*, September, 1986.
- Oakes, Jeannie (1986). "Keeping Track, Part II: The Policy and Practice of Curriculum Inequality and School Reform," *Phi Delta Kappan*, October, 1986.
- Olsen, Laurie (1987). *Crossing the Schoolhouse Border*, A policy research report of California Tomorrow, San Francisco.
- Sizer, Theodore (1985). *Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- Smith, Mary Lee and Lorrie A. Shepard (1987). "What Doesn't Work: Explaining Policies of Retention in the Early Grades," *Phi Delta Kappan*, October, 1987.
- Snow Catherine and Kenji Hakuta (1987). "The Costs of Monolingualism," and unpublished monograph, Cambridge, MA.

- Suzuki, Bob H. (1984). "Curriculum Transformation for Multicultural Education," *Education and Urban Society*, Vol. 16, No. 3. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.
- U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights (1988). "State and National Summaries, 1986 Elementary and Secondary School Survey," Washington, D.C.

Endnotes

1. Sariol/Boston.
2. Gandara/San Francisco.
3. Section 204 of IRCA, State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants (SLIAG), provides federal assistance to reimburse state governments for the costs of certain human, health, and educational services provided to persons who legalize under the Act. Processes are being put in place to facilitate the release of these funds.

Recent Studies of Children and Youth in the U.S.A.

Note: Many valuable studies have emerged from states and cities and a variety of independent organizations. Those below were selected because they were national in scope and focused directly on the special needs of poor and minority group children and youth. Thus, other valuable studies such as reports on the teaching profession or the preparation of school and community leadership have not been included. This list is a sampling only.

1. *Barriers to Excellence: Our Children at Risk*, 1985. Prepared by a Commission appointed by the National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS). Available for \$7.50 plus \$1.70 postage and handling from: NCAS, 100 Boylston St., Suite 737, Boston, MA 02116.

2. *Make Something Happen*, 1984. A study of Hispanics in secondary schools by a commission appointed by the Hispanic Policy Development Project (HPDP). Available for \$12.50 from: HPDP, 1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20036.

3. *A Call for Action to Make Our Nation Safe for Children*, 1988. Prepared by Children's Defense Fund (CDF). Also, *What Every American Should Be Asking Political Leaders in 1988*. Write: CDF, Dept. Q, 122 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001 for an order form. These two publications are free, but postage must be paid for multiple copies.

CDF has other significant material on children, particularly its new *A Children's Defense Budget FY 1989: An Analysis of Our Nation's Investment in Children*. \$14.95 plus postage and handling. Same address as above, Att: Publications.

Send for publication list.

4. *Keeping the Options Open*, 1986. Report on pre-college guidance and counseling in the U.S.A. by a commission appointed by the College Board. Order from: College Board Publications, Box 886, New York, NY 10101 for \$6.00, 20% discount on five or more. Ask for Item #002822.

5. *Investing in Our Children*, 1985. Report by a Task Force of the Committee on Economic Development (CED). Order from: CED, 477 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10022 for \$9.50 plus 10% shipping and handling. Att: Distribution Dept.

6. *Children in Need*, 1987. Report by CED Task Force, see above address. Cost \$10.50 plus shipping. Attention: Distribution Department.

7. *The Forgotten Half: Non College Youth in America*, 1988. Study by a Commission appointed by the William T. Grant Foundation. Single copies available free from: William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth, 1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC 20036.

In addition:

Immigrant Children in California Public Schools: Crossing the Schoolhouse Border. \$6.00. California Tomorrow, Fort Mason, Building B. San Francisco, CA 94123.

Additional Readings

- American Jewish Committee (1987). *The Newest Americans—Report of the American Jewish Committee's Task Force on the Acculturation of Immigrants to American Life*. Institute of Human Relations, New York.
- Bernard, William S. (1982). "A History of U.S. Immigration Policy," *Dimensions of Ethnicity*, Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Bing, Stephen and David Richart (1987). "Fairness is a Kid's Game," a background paper for Emerging State-Based Child Advocacy Organizations," prepared by Kentucky Youth Advocates, Inc., Louisville, KY, and the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, Boston, MA.
- Boothby, Neil (1986). "Uprooted Mayan Children," *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 48–53.
- Cardenas, Jose A. and Albert Cortez (1986). "The Impact of *Plyler v. Doe* Upon Texas Public Schools," *Journal of Law and Education*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 1–17.
- Cazden, Courtney, Robert Carrasco, Abdil Abel Maldonado-Guzman and Frederick Erickson (1980). "The Contribution of Ethnographic Research to Bicultural Bilingual Education," *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1980*, Ed. James Alatis, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.
- Chavez, Leo R., Wayne A. Cornelius and Oliver William Jones (1985). "Mexican Immigrants and the Utilization of U.S. Health Services: The Case of San Diego," *Soc. Sci. Med.*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 93–102.
- Coles, Robert (1986). "Exile and Nationalism: Children of Southeast Asia," *The Political Life of Children*, Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.
- Educational Testing Service (1986). "Educating the New Americans," *Focus*, Princeton, NJ.
- Espenshade, Thomas J. (1986). "Why the United States Needs Immigrants," *Impacts of Immigration in California*, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.
- Ferguson, Laura (1987). "Southeast Asian Curriculum Developers: A link between students, staff, and teachers," *Equity and Choice*, Vol. III, Number 2, Winter, 1987, pp. 34–36.
- Fuchs, Lawrence H. and Susan S. Forbes (Principal authors) (1981). "Immigration and U.S. History—The Evolution of the Open Society," Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy [script], U.S. Immigration Policy and National Interest. (Reprinted in: Aleinikoff, Thomas Alexander and David A. Martin. (1985) *Immigration Process and Policy*, West Publishing Co., St. Paul, Minnesota, pp. 38–62.
- Goodis, Tracy Ann and Thomas J. Espenshade (1986). "Immigration to Southern California: Fact and Fiction," *Impacts of Immigration in California*, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.
- Hakuta, Kenji (1985). *The Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism*, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York.
- Hakuta, Kenji and Laurie J. Gould (1987). "Synthesis of Research on Bilingual Education," *Education Leadership*, Vol. 44, No. 6, pp. 38–44.
- Hispanic Policy Development Project (1984). *The Hispanic Almanac*, New York.
- Intercultural Development Research Association (1986). *Texas School Dropout Survey Project: A Summary of Findings* (Under Contract with Texas Department of Community Affairs), San Antonio, TX.
- Levin, Henry (1986). *Educational Reform for Disadvantaged Students: An Emerging Crisis*, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
- Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations (1985). *Plight of the New Americans: Discrimination Against Immigrants and Refugees*, Los Angeles.
- Mollica, Richard F. and James P. Lavelle (1986). "The Trauma of Mass Violence and Torture: An Overview of the Psychiatric Care of the Southeast Asian Refugee," *Clinical Practice in Cross-Cultural Mental Health*, Edited by Lillian Comas-Diaz and Ezra E.H. Griffith, John Wiley and Sons, New York.
- Moore, Donald, et al. (1983). "Child Advocacy and the Schools: Past Impact and Potential for the 1980s," A Report to Carnegie Corporation of New York by Designs for Change, Chicago.

- National Education Association (1987). *And Justice For All: The NEA Executive Committee Study Group Reports On Ethnic Minority Concerns*, Washington, D.C.
- Orum, Lori (1986). *The Education of Hispanics: Status and Implications*, National Council of La Raza, Washington, D.C.
- Ostrum-Grunstein, Eva, Rita Barrish and Elizabeth Bogen (1986). *Teaching for English Proficiency—The Need for an Evaluation of Language Programs in the New York City Public Schools*, Department of City Planning, Human Resources Division, Office of Immigrant Affairs, New York.
- Papademetriou, Demetrios G., and Nicholas Dimarzio (1986). *Undocumented Aliens in the New York Metropolitan Area*, Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., Staten Island, N.Y.
- Petrovich, Janice (1987). *Northeast Hispanic Needs: A Guide for Action*, Vol. I and Vol. II.
- Safer, Daniel (1986). "The Stress of Secondary School for Vulnerable Students," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 15, No. 5.
- Sung, Betty Lee (1987). *The Adjustment Experience of Chinese Immigrant Children in New York City*, Center for Migration Studies, Inc., Staten Island, N.Y.
- Sutton, Constance R. and Elsa M. Chaney (Editors) (1987). *The Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*, Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., Staten Island, N.Y.
- Tomasi, Lydio F. (1972). *The Ethnic Factor in the Future of Inequality*, Center For Migration Studies, Inc., Staten Island, N.Y.
- United States Commission on Civil Rights (1980). *The Tarnished Golden Door*, U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1986). *Project 2000: Job and Training Opportunities for Minorities and Women*, Washington, D.C.
- Wilk, Valerie, A. (1986). *The Occupational Health of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in the United States*, Farmworker Justice Fund, Inc., Washington, D.C.

New Voices provides a comprehensive and remarkably concrete set of recommendations. The synthesis is based upon the most recent research in language and education, and it is substantiated by lived testimony. The vision of the changing face of America is at once bold, sophisticated, realistic, and exciting. This book is not just for specialists in education — it must be studied by anyone concerned with the future competence of American society.

This articulate and coherent report clearly delineates the choice faced by American educators: to become committed to immigrant children's success or to promote their failure; to empower or to disempower. In contrast to most previous educational reform reports, this report challenges educators to shape rather than just reflect our society by becoming forceful and imaginative advocates for the children they teach.

The immigrants whose voices are heard in this report are no different than their earlier counterparts, people like me and, perhaps, like you. This report, however, is less about them than it is about us — about our readiness and willingness to provide the help and support they need to make the transition to life in the United States. NCAS' *New Voices* conveys a powerful message to the society on their behalf: new immigrants can either revitalize the society as earlier immigrants have, or if we fail to educate them adequately, they can become a drain on it. An investment in the education of these students is an investment in the future of this society.

This publication is an extraordinarily valuable resource on the problems faced by immigrant children entering the public school system. Every educator and public official concerned with immigration-related issues should read this book.

This study will certainly facilitate educators who care for immigrant children. I welcome it as a step forward with the hope that these students will receive maximum benefit from those using this research. In return, immigrants will contribute their best to building a better world.

This comprehensive study draws attention to the educational needs of immigrant children and recommends a course of action for American schools. It is hoped that educators across the country will give it the serious consideration it deserves.

New Voices is a necessary statement of the case for equal educational opportunity for immigrant students. Many issues raised in this report have been raised before, as we have struggled to make American public schools responsive to the needs of U.S.-born minorities. This report should be required reading for educators. It addresses the problems of immigrant students and provides a framework for making public schools more responsive to immigrant children's needs.

National Coalition of
Advocates for Students

Boston, MA